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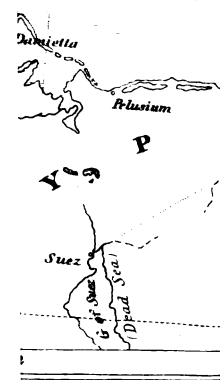
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THE LAND OF ISRAEL,

ACCORDING TO

THE COVENANT

WITH

ABRAHAM, WITH ISAAC, AND WITH JACOB.

BY ALEXANDER KEITH, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF "THE EVIDENCE OF PROPHECY," "SIGNS OF THE TIMES," "DEMONSTRATION OF THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION."

With Numerous Engravings.

NEW-YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1844.

TO

JOHN ABERCROMBIE, M.D.,

The following Treatise is Inscribed,

IN TOKEN OF CHRISTIAN ESTEEM,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

04-19-82 WB

gift
Tappan Presb. Ass
4-8-1932

PREFACE.

THE following treatise was commenced with the intention, on the part of the author, of drawing out a few retrospective and prospective sketches of Judea and Judaism. On his return from Palestine, he was urged by the esteemed friend to whom it is inscribed to publish the substance of an evening's conversation in his hospitable house. He naturally reverted to the covenant with Abraham, as the groundwork of such an essay. That subject alone, in connexion with kindred themes, called for a more full illustration than he at first anticipated. And as the subsequent essay, which thus originated, may be considered as, in part, a sequel to his Treatise on the Evidence of Prophecy, it may also form the introduction to other Scriptural topics, of momentous import to Gentiles as well as Jews.

The writer has thankfully to express his obligations to Colonel Chesney for the use of his map constructed for his forthcoming work on the Euphrates Expedition, with many of the proof-sheets of which he kindly furnished him; to Colonel M'Niven, for the Views of Cæsarea, and the Convent at Zahli; to Mr. Buckingham, for liberty to use several plates from his Travels among the Arab Tribes; to Mr. Ainsworth, and to the publisher of his Researches in Assyria, for the View of Mount Casius; and to Messrs. Fisher, for permission to insert the first and largest plates, taken from their splendid work, "Views of Syria."

November, 1843.

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INTRODUCTION.

TRUE in all their emphatic meaning have been the words of the prophet for many ages past, *Who shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem? or who shall bemoan thee? or who shall turn aside to ask how thou doest?** Yet the time cometh when the truth of other words of more propitious omen shall be as clearly seen: "For the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold his reward is with him, and his work before him, and they shall call them, The holy people, The redeemed of the Lord: and *thou shall be called, sought out, a city not forsaken.*"†

While the Jews have been scattered among all nations under heaven, the land of Israel—except in history and in the associations pertaining to ancient times, which suffer it not to be dissevered from the minds or memories of Christians or Jews—was long almost forgotten as an existing country, and its actual condition in a great measure unknown. After the age of the Crusades, it ceased to exercise any influence on the world at large, or any peculiar general interest in Asia or Europe. Its political importance was gone; and by the discovery of a new passage to India, the line of communication between these two quarters of the world was turned far from its shores. Its coast, though the cradle of commerce, was desolate, lone, and unvisited, the prey of barbarism and the resort of wild beasts. And it was only towards the close of the last, and the commencement of the present century, that Syria began to be inquired after, and to reassert its claim to the notice of the world. *Bereaving the nations of men*, as foretold, and partly fulfilled, it became

* Jer., xv., 5. † Isa., lxii., 11, 12.

during the Crusades the common grave of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, yet it could not be rescued from the hands of infidel but not idolatrous Moslems, but was left to the unmarked progress of decay and desolation, till its once vine-clad mountains are bare, and its cities waste, and its plains desolate, and nothing but the scantling of a population left in the land, for the possession of which many myriads had contended, and which in times more ancient had been thickly studded with cities. Yet these, when reduced to desolation, had ruins sufficient in an inquiring age to attract the traveller, and to command admiration. They were successively searched out, visited, and portrayed, till, strange to say, Tadmor or Palmyra, Baalath or Baalbec, built by Solomon, Petra and Geresa, became, in succession, novelties to the world. New causes speedily conspired to attach a higher interest than that of curiosity to Syria. Lying at the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Britain and India, its locality in a commercial view raised it, by the invention of steam navigation, into a new importance; and the traffic, or at least communication between Asia and Europe, pointed, after the lapse of ages, towards its direct and original channels. And as the contest between these quarters of the globe for its possession had riveted on it in former ages the attention of the world, so all eyes were fixed on it again in the course of the last few years, when the question of its subserviency to the Pacha of Egypt or the Sultan of Turkey was a question of the integrity or existence of the Ottoman Empire, and, consequently, of peace or war throughout Europe or the world.

But the heritage of Jocob, however desolate it may lie, or by whatever hordes of Gentiles it may be trodden down, has far higher interest attached to it than that of being a field for the inspection of ruins, and a higher destiny to fulfil than that of a bond of peace, or a cause of war, or any apportioning of earthly kingdoms. Of that land, even as of the people whose it is by the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, we

can speak as of no other. Though it had passed as an existing state into oblivion, and men, in familiar phrase, had lost sight of it, and no one bemoaned it, yet *the eyes of the Lord are always upon it*, even as he hath declared of Zion, *I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me; thy destroyers and they that made thee desolate shall go forth of thee.* Not to regard the peculiarity of the land, as well as of the people Israel, in respect to the threatened curses and the promised blessings, is to miss the proper character, and to omit the chief discriminating feature of the one and of the other. It would be as unwise as wicked to qualify an historical statement, or wrest a geographical fact in accordance with a fancy, whether to show that all the history and all the facts pertaining to their land may be explained without a miracle, or whether, more philosophically, we think it be indubitably held, in illustrating the prophecies concerning both, as miraculous throughout, the hand of the Lord being revealed in it all. The facts are the same, and have to be stated with the same precision and truth, whether predicted or not. The additional *fact*, that they were foretold, adds a new import to them all, and solves a problem otherwise inexplicable. A mystery, in the marvellous transition it has undergone, seems to hang over the land as over the people; and the desolation of the one is analogous in character, and coincident in time, with the dispersion of the other. But the *sure word of prophecy, to which we do well to take heed*, unfolds the future, as it revealed the past, and lays open to the believer's view the declared, but yet unaccomplished purpose of the Lord, which can never be disannulled. The *everlasting covenant* with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob, concerning the land as the everlasting possession of their seed, was made with these faithful fathers of the Hebrew race before that covenant was made with the Israelites under Moses and Joshua, the curses of which, not heard of till then, have come upon the land. As it preceded, it is destined to survive them all. Coming history must

therefore bear its part, like all the past, in the actual and finally palpable development, in the sight of all men, of the counsels of *the Holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth, as He* yet *shall be called.* And all the idol-devotees of a more worldly policy shall be brought to see, as time advances and momentous events ensue with a closeness and velocity hitherto unparalleled, that all their schemes which accord not with the faith that He is the Ruler among the nations, shall lie as low as the once mighty Babylon, of which nothing is left, and which has crumbled into dust before His word.

The full accomplishment of the judgments that were to come upon the land, is the harbinger of the completion, in the latter days, of the covenant of *promise.* Expatriated for nearly eighteen centuries as the Jews have been, all connexion between them and the land of their fathers, were they a people numbered among the nations, might well have seemed ere now, so far as human foresight could discern, to have ceased forever. And yet the separate, though similar fates of the land and of the people are, in fact, so closely linked together and interwoven in the unerring Word of the unchangeable Jehovah, that clearly as the long-continued blindness and dispersion of the Jews were foretold, so clearly does the very degree of desolation to which their fatherland should finally be reduced, rank among the measures of the time of their return.

The Lord said to Isaiah, when *he beheld his glory,* "Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then said I, *How long?* And He answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land. But yet in it shall be a *tenth,* and it shall return, and shall be eaten: as a teil-tree and as an oak,

whose substance is in them when they cast their leaves, so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof."*

The land of Israel, as *possessed* and *peopled* of old by the seed of Jacob, and also the neighbouring regions, which, as shown in the following pages, were included within the promised inheritance, are so full of literal illustrations of literal predictions, that, as the author has been enabled to show in successive editions of the *Evidence of Prophecy*, the truth of more than two hundred texts, or upward of a hundred distinct prophecies, may be read in the history and existing state of the land, and of its desolate cities.† The *curses of the covenant* which the Israelites brake are there as legible, word for word, as in the oracles of the living God, whose covenant it was, and who made it with the Israelites when they first entered into Canaan. They have taken effect till nothing more than the predicted *tenth* is left.

The hope expressed in the preface to the first edition of that treatise, of bringing the subject of the literal fulfilment of prophecy into view, especially as illustrated by the discoveries of recent travellers, has been amply realized; and many prophetic topics that needed illustration are now familiar to thousands. It is, therefore, needless to repeat the proofs of the existing desolation, or to trace anew the discriminating features of the ruined cities, as drawn of old by the prophets. But the hope is cherished of presenting many of them to the Christian public, and of setting them before unbelievers, without the aid either of the pen or of the pencil.‡ Yet, as one reason, among many others, for exciting interest in another theme, and for regarding other words of the Lord that have to be accomplished in another way, the degree of desolation marked in the preceding words uttered by the Lord in the hearing of the prophet, as he looked upon his glory, may here prove a befitting introduction to a covenant without a

* Isa., vi., 9–13. † Evidence of Prophecy, p. 97–263.

‡ By a process which may be said to be natural, the calyotype, or daguerreotype.

curse. No man hath seen the Father at any time; but centuries before his incarnation, *the Lord of hosts*, the eternal Word, who is *the same yesterday, to-day, and forever*, spake to the prophet of the long-continued blindness and impenitence of Israel, and answered his question, How long? by an appeal to what the land should finally become ere that blindness should cease. But the Lord did not appear in his glory to Isaiah, amid the hallelujahs of the cherubim, and send an angel to touch his lips with a live coal from off the altar, to enable him to ask the question, in order that He himself might return to it an unmeaning or indefinite answer. It becomes man, who is a worm, to regard with reverence, and to hear with faith, the words which the Lord hath spoken. "My days are like a shadow, that declineth," saith the Psalmist; "and I am withered like grass. But thou, O Lord, shalt endure forever, and thy remembrance unto all generations. Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof; so the heathen shall fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory. When the Lord shall build up Zion, He shall appear in his glory. He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer. *This shall be written for the generation to come;* and the people which shall be created shall praise the Lord." As thus it is written for a generation to come, so the Lord appeared in his glory to Isaiah, when He made known to him the time of the final termination of the blindness of Israel.

Earthly sovereigns are the executioners of the judgments of the heavenly King; and do, even when it is *not in their heart* to think so, *all His pleasure.* Often, as unconsciously, have skeptical writers, like Gibbon or Volney, recorded the things by which His word is illustrated. But it is worthy of remark, as if official evidence were needed here, that the British government, a few years ago, sent forth a commissioner to make inquiry, and to *report* on the state of Syria, whose re-

port, when completed, was presented to both houses of Parliament by command of her majesty.* It supplied some striking additional illustrations, seemingly unconsciously given, of literal prophecies concerning the land.† Among these, not the least remarkable is the very first paragraph of the appendix, or the report of Mr. Consul Moore, an intelligent observer, who has resided for years in the land.

"Syria is a country whose population bears no proportion to its superficies, and the inhabitants may be considered, on the most moderate calculation, as reduced to a tithe of what the soil could abundantly maintain under a wiser system of administration."‡ And in the body of the report it is stated that "the country is capable of producing tenfold the present produce."§

According to the Word of the Lord, *They that dwell therein are desolate, and few men left.*‖ *The city that went out by a thousand shall leave a hundred, and that which went out by a hundred shall leave ten, to the house of Israel.*¶ *Make the hearts of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, &c.* And I said, *How long?* And He answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, &c.; but yet in it shall be a tenth, &c.

Is it not time, then, to look to another covenant than that which bears the curses that have indeed *devoured the land*, but have also their term assigned them by the Lord?

"The covenant of works, and the covenant of grace," have often divided Christian theology between them, as in some respects they rightly may. But there are other or more defined covenants in the Word of God, to which it becomes believers to have respect. That which God made with Abraham, of promise and of grace, is everlasting, and knows no other termination than that of the heavens and of the earth.

* Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria, London, 1840.
† Evidence of Prophecy, p. 427–9. ‡ Report on Syria, p. 111.
§ Report on Syria, p. 90. ‖ Isaiah, xxiv., 6. ¶ Amos, v., 3.

In the subsequent pages the perpetuity of that covenant concerning the land, and its connexion with that which was made with the Israelites when the Lord brought them out of Egypt, and with the new and everlasting covenant which He will make with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, and also with the covenant which the Lord made with David concerning his throne, is, in the first place, brought within the view of the reader. The borders of the land, not as it was anciently possessed, but as *set* of the Lord, naturally form the immediately succeeding theme, which is treated at so great length as to demand an apology. But so little was the writer aware, ere he entered on the investigation, of the full extent, especially on the north, of the Scriptural boundaries of the promised land, that, when requested at a recent date to mark their limits for the construction of a map, he drew a line a little to the north of Hamath, conscious that it was included; but, unobservant then of the precise Scriptural definition of the *entrance into Hamath*, he drew it regardless of any entrance, or any natural border whatever, across a double chain of mountains. This obvious error led to a closer examination. And now he can plead only the novelty of the topic in excuse for this lengthened illustration, for which, if he mistake not, a few words may henceforth suffice, without the hazard of a repetition of the error.

In the sequel of the volume proof is adduced, from its past history and actual condition, of the goodliness of the land; of its natural fertility, not impaired, but increased; and also of the facility with which its fallen cities may be *raised from their foundation*, and *forsaken cities*, though not fallen, even *cities* still existing, though *without inhabitants*, and *houses* still standing, though *without man*, may be *repaired* or *restored to dwell in*.

The land of promise, rightly bearing that title still when looked at as it is, appears, indeed, like an oak which the storms of winter have stripped of its leaves. But in taking up the covenant with Abraham, and

Isaac, and Jacob, it is not in that aspect that we would view it here; but rather would we look to what it has been, and to the *substance* that is in it still, in order to show what, in accordance with the Abrahamic covenant, and many precious promises of Scripture, it yet shall be, when that substance which is in it shall put forth its fullest foliage anew, even richer and more beauteous than ever; and the bare and naked land be covered and clothed again, like an oak of Bashan in summer.

The *desolation* of many cities, as illustrative of prophecy, might be told in a word; but the practicability of their restoration demands a closer inspection. Nay, the ruins would all need to be disclosed to view, as has been of late partially the case with some, before a complete idea could be formed of the amplitude of the materials ready for reconstruction. The ruins of Syria are not like those of many other lands; not like those of Egypt, for instance, often buried beneath the sand; nor like those of other countries, where broken fragments of once connected walls encumber the ground, incapable of being *built up* again. But better promises than Israel, or any other nation ever yet inherited, have in these pages to be kept ultimately in view. And we would here draw from the past, or describe the present, to show how, in respect to the land, all things are ready, or ripening fast for the completion—it may be at no distant day, though other judgments yet intervene—of the covenant with faithful Abraham, to which no curses are annexed; and also how the past and still visible judgments which come upon the land may be viewed as pointing to, and preparing for, the time when mercy shall rejoice over them, and the world, with all its families, blessed in the seed of Jacob, be a witness that the God of Israel is a covenant-keeping God, who will not suffer his faithfulness to fail, but overrules all things for the final accomplishment of his word, and for the ultimate manifestation of his glory.

THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

MY COVENANT WILL I NOT BREAK, NOR ALTER THE THING THAT IS GONE OUT OF MY MOUTH.—*Psalm* lxxxix., 34.

CHAPTER I.

THE COVENANT WITH ABRAHAM RESPECTING THE LAND—ITS PERPETUITY.

SECTION I.

THE name of "the land of Canaan" is nearly coeval with the deluge. And the names of ancient cities, still attached to the same localities, serve at once to fix the site of the territory possessed by the Canaanites, when "the nations were divided after the flood." *Sidon*, the father of the *Sidonians*, was the eldest son of Canaan, the grandson of Noah. "The border of the Canaanites was from *Sidon*, as thou comest to Gerar unto *Gaza*,"* &c. "The families of the Canaanites were spread abroad," and they speedily occupied extensive regions in Syria.

The dwelling of the families of Shem, of whom came the Hebrew race, was in the east.† Abram dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, beyond the Euphrates.‡

From the time that God blessed Noah, after the deluge, there is no record that his voice was heard by man till He appeared unto Abram, when he was in Mesopotamia.§ Four hundred years subsequent to the establishment of the covenant with Noah and his seed, the word of the Lord came unto the son of Terah, a descendant of Shem, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto *a land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him. And Abram took

* Gen., x., 19. † Ibid., 30. ‡ Ibid., xv., 7. § Acts, vii., 2.

Sarai his wife, and Lot, his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the *land of Canaan* they came. And Abram passed through *the land unto the plain of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.* And the Canaanite was then in the land. And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said, UNTO THY SEED WILL I GIVE THIS LAND: and there builded he an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him."*

A grievous famine prevailing afterward in Canaan, Abram went down into Egypt, to sojourn for a season. After his return, as on his first entrance into Canaan, the promise was confirmed and renewed more amply than before: "And the Lord said unto Abram, after Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, *to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever.* Arise, walk through the land, in the length of it and in the breadth of it: for I will give it unto thee."†

Again, after Abram had long sojourned in the land, the repeated promises of the Lord assumed the form of a covenant, confirmed by visible signs, by which, as it were, the Lord pledged himself to their fulfilment; and He set the bounds of the destined inheritance of his seed. "The Word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram; I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward."‡ Already had he shown his faith by his works; he had left his own country at the Divine command, not knowing whither he was to go, but as the Lord would show him; and when the aged and childless pilgrim was told that his own son, and no other, should be his heir, and that his seed should be numerous as the stars of heaven, *he believed in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness.* A Chaldean, dwelling in the midst of idolaters, had been called by the Lord, and had left his country, his kindred, and his father's house, at his command; he had gone childless for many a year, till hoary hairs were upon him, a wandering pilgrim in a land of strangers; and the steward of his house was Eliezer of Damascus. Had not the Almighty otherwise decreed, his name, in a few short years at the farthest, would have been blotted out from under heaven. But

* Gen., xii., 1–6. † Ibid., xiii., 14, 15, 17. ‡ Ibid., xv., 1.

when the Word of the Lord came to him, saying, "This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth of thine own bowels shall be thine heir," he believed. And when "the Lord brought him forth abroad and said, Look now towards heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them," the childless man lifted up his aged head, and, in a pure and cloudless atmosphere unknown in gloomy regions, he looked upon the untold and numberless stars that thickly studded the whole firmament of heaven; and when the Word of the Lord said unto him, *So shall thy seed be, he believed in the Lord; and He counted it to him for righteousness.* And He said unto him, I am the Lord, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this *land to inherit it.** It was enough for Abram that the Lord had spoken. It was counted enough by the Lord that Abram believed. And the time was come when the Lord made a covenant between himself and Abram.

Believing the promise, and not distrusting the power of God, but knowing that all things were possible unto Him, "Abram said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" He was commanded to take a heifer, a goat, a ram, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon; and he took them, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece over against the other. All that Abram could farther do was to drive away the fowls from the carcasses till the going down of the sun. Then a great horror of darkness fell upon him. "And when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, that passed between those pieces. In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the River of Egypt unto the great river, the River Euphrates,*"† &c.

Finally, when Abram was ninety years old and nine, a year before the birth of Isaac, and when Ishmael was thirteen years old, the covenant was renewed with Abraham, called Abram no more, but destined to be, as designated, a "father of many nations." The boundaries of the promised land having been fixed by the covenant, the perpetual duration of the inheritance, as previously promised, came also specially within its bonds: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an *everlasting covenant*, to be a God unto thee, and to thy

* Gen., xv., 1-7. † Ibid., 7-12, 17, 18, &c.

seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an *everlasting possession;* and I will be their God."*

At the same time, circumcision was instituted as a perpetual token of an everlasting covenant, which it was also called: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep, between me and you, and thy seed after thee: Every man child among you shall be circumcised; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you: He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an *everlasting covenant.*"†

After the death of Abraham, and after Esau had sold his birthright to Jacob, a famine arose again in Canaan, and Isaac, once in his life, purposed to leave the land of promise. And once, too, at that very time, the Lord appeared unto him and said, "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of. Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee: *for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries;* and I will *perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father*, and I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, *and will give unto thy seed all these countries;* and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," &c.‡

Jacob abode not always, like his father Isaac, in the land of Canaan. His mother Rebekah, alarmed for his life, because of the fury of his brother, and his father, fearful lest he should take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, charged him to go to Padanaram to the house of Bethuel. "God Almighty bless thee," said Isaac to his departing son, "and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land wherein thou art a stranger, which God gave unto Abraham."§ Stranger in the land as he was, Jacob left it not without far more than a paternal and patriarchal blessing. "He went out from Beersheba, and went towards Haran:" but he did not rest the first night on his journey, nor reach the borders of the land, till the God of Abraham and of Isaac gave him to know that He was also the God of Jacob. And when stones were his pillow and the earth his bed, the destined father of the twelve tribes of Israel received the promise that the land should be theirs.

* Gen., xvii., 7, 8. † Ibid., 9-13. ‡ Ibid., xxvi., 1-4. § Ibid., xxviii., 4.

"I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: *the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed:* And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and *thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south:* and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land: *for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.*"*

God did not leave Jacob, but did bring him again into the land, and appeared unto him a second time when he came out of Padanaram, and blessed him, and said, *The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.*†

And when Jacob, in extreme old age, took his journey, with all that he had, to go down to Egypt to his son Joseph, to return no more, as a living man, to Canaan, the Lord at the last, as at the first, suffered him not to reach the border of the land without a renewal of his promise and reassurance of its truth. "And God spake unto Israel in the vision of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob; and he said, Here am I. And he said, I am God, the God of thy father; fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will make thee there a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up; and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes."‡

Israel, full of faith, before his eyes were closed in death, charged all his sons, and made Joseph swear unto him, not to bury him in Egypt, but to carry him out from thence, and bury him in the field of Machpelah, in the land of Canaan, in the burying-place of his fathers:§ and he recounted the promise of the Lord: "Behold, I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and will make of thee a multitude of people; *and will give this land to thy seed after thee, for an everlasting possession.*"‖

Joseph also, dying in the faith, "said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto *the land which He sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob;* and Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, *and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.*"¶

* Gen., xxviii., 13–15. † Ibid., xxxv., 9–12. ‡ Ibid., xlvi., 1–4.
§ Ibid., xlvii., 29, 30; xlix., 29–32. ‖ Ibid., xlviii., 4. ¶ Ibid., l., 24, 25.

Such is the heaven-chartered right of the seed of Israel to the land of Canaan. And such is its confirmation, by the clear promises, attested covenant, and repeated oath of the Lord God, as recorded in the first book of the Bible.

In the brief scriptural history of the antediluvian world, there is no record that the Lord spake unto man from the time that the first-born of the human race became the murderer of the second, and Cain was cursed from the earth, till God said unto Noah, when all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth, "The end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them, and behold, I will destroy them from the earth."* And after the sole covenant was made with Noah and his sons, centuries again passed away, and the voice of the Lord was not heard by man till a descendant of Shem, in Ur of the Chaldees, was commanded to leave his country, and go into another and strange land. There is something strikingly peculiar in the command here given, as pertaining to the land whither he was to go, as well as to the person, in commanding whom to go thither, the long silence, so very seldom interrupted since communion with God was lost by sin, was thus broken at last by a voice from heaven, the voice of the Lord, "Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, *unto a land that I will show thee.*" The Lord who had called *him* was to show him *the land.* The one was chosen as well as the other. And the least observant reader can hardly fail to see, from the mere juxtaposition and connected sequence of the preceding passages of Scripture, how rapidly, in marvellous contrast with all the previous history of fallen man, vision succeeded to vision; and the same Divine promise was ratified and renewed, again and again, by a covenant and by an oath, according as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in whose seed all the families of the earth should finally be blessed, entered, or left, or even purposed to leave, or returned to the land of Canaan. That land was thus set apart as *the everlasting possession* of the seed of Israel, as never was any land to any other people.

The covenant was made with Abraham, and with Isaac, and with Jacob. Not all of Abraham's nor of Isaac's seed were destined to possess the land; for both of them had other descendants, to whom the promise did not pertain, and who had no inheritance in Israel. But the covenant, limited to

* Gen., vi., 12, 13.

the seed of Jacob, and embracing them all, no longer pertained to any single mortal, as to him, but embraced all the tribes of Israel, to whom the land was allotted, and among whom in after ages it was apportioned. And whenever it was thus completed, generation after generation passed away; and, for a long season, the voice of the Lord was silent again.

But the faith of the patriarchs was not in vain. The children of Israel, in the appointed time, went up into the land to which the dead body of Jacob had been carried, and Joseph did not in vain give commandment respecting his bones, which were carried up by Moses and buried by Joshua in Canaan. In that land, save the cave of Machpelah, and a parcel of a field in Shechem, each a burying-place, the seed of Jacob had not a foot of ground, which, by any human right, they could call their own. Nor, though these had been purchased by their patriarchal fathers, could the possession of them be claimed by a race of slaves in Egypt. Their right—not to a spot or two for a burying-place—but to the whole land for an *everlasting possession*, rested not on an agreement with the sons of Heth or the sons of Hamor, but on the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers.

Prescription for forty, or four hundred years, or even, as now, for a far longer period, cannot be valid against the word of the living God, in whose sight a thousand years are as one day, and to whom the earth belongs. It runs not against *titles*, guarantied by human compact, and sanctioned by human laws. But there never was a right or title to any inheritance or possession, given not by man, but by God, as that with which the seed of Israel was invested over Canaan. "The lot of their inheritance," "the heritage of Jacob," was defined, decreed, and confirmed to them by the promise, the covenant, and the oath of the Lord of the whole earth. That covenant, as they were foretold and forewarned, might, as to its operation, be suspended for a season, and seem to be annulled forever; but, however hopeless its execution might at any time appear, it was never repealed, and would not always be forgotten. As Abraham, against hope, believed in hope, when, bordering on his hundreth year, he trusted and knew that the promised blessings would rest on the innumerable descendants of his then unborn son, so, when generation after generation of the children of Israel was held in Egyptian bondage, and the very straw was

withheld from them* which was needful to make bricks to their masters, they would have believed against hope, or all conceivable likelihood that it would ever be realized, in thinking that the goodly land of Canaan would be theirs. God might have seemed to be the God of any other race than of the enslaved and toilworn children of Israel, under the rods of Egyptian taskmasters. Yet it was not hid from Abraham, but from the word of God he knew assuredly that his seed should be a stranger in a land not theirs, wherein they should be long afflicted; but he knew also that they should come with great substance into the land of Canaan again, though more than four centuries should elapse from the time the promise was given ere it should begin to be realized.†

The Lord, in his appointed time and way, saves, from troubles however great or enemies however strong, by many or by few. It was when the lives of the children of Israel were bitter with hard bondage, and the commandment had been given by the King of Egypt that every newborn male child of the Israelites should be killed, that an infant lying in an ark of bulrushes amid the flags by the river's brink was raised up to be the deliverer of Israel. After being trained in the house of Pharaoh, he fled from his face. A stranger in a strange land, keeping the flock of Jethro on the farther outskirts of the desert, he saw a bush, like Israel then as in after ages, burning with fire and not consumed—for the selfsame reason, because the Lord was there. The time was come for Jacob's deliverance, when his destruction was threatened; and the voice of the Lord, who is a covenant-keeping God, was uttered again. Turning aside to see the great sight, Moses heard the voice of the Lord calling to him, "Moses, Moses. And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows, and am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land, *unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite.* Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM (Jehovah) hath sent me unto you. The Lord God of your fathers, *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac,*

* Exod., v., 7. † Gen., xv., 13-18.

and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you; THIS IS MY NAME FOREVER, AND MY MEMORIAL UNTO ALL GENERATIONS."*

The Lord did begin to prove the truth of his covenant by putting it into effect against all the resistance of Pharaoh and that of all their enemies.

When the King of Egypt refused to let the people go, and yet more grievously oppressed them, one Divine communication followed after another, more rapidly than ever since the days before the fall. The Lord said unto Moses, "Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: I am the Lord. And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known unto them. And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers. And I have also heard the groanings of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have *remembered my covenant*. Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you of their bondage; and I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God. *And I will bring you into the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and I will give it to you for an heritage:* I am the Lord."†

Although, in maintaining the unchangeableness and inviolability of that covenant, the Lord was first known to Israel by his name Jehovah, the self-existent and ever-living God, the Divine right of the seed of Israel to the possession of Canaan may now be a startling statement in the ears of those who have not perfectly considered, however frequently they may have read, the oft-repeated covenant of the Lord, and the oath which He sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. But if their notions come short of absolute incredulity, their wavering faith is stronger than that of those whose groanings God heard and remembered his covenant; but who, when this very message from the Lord was told them, *would not*, after the first disappointment of their hopes, *hearken unto Moses for anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage.*‡

Abraham was a stranger in the land of Canaan. There

* Exod., iii., 1-15. † Ibid., vi., 1-8. ‡ Ibid., 9.

for three generations he and his descendants had sojourned as pilgrims. The possession declared to be *everlasting* had not, after the lapse of centuries, been once entered on for a single day. In Egypt, long their dwelling-place, the land of Goshen, though once held in free tenure from the king, had been turned into the house of bondage. Gathering stubble in the fields, and beaten for a fault that was not theirs,* they looked not like the heirs of a divinely-covenanted inheritance; and when their hope was once cast down, and their burdens increased because they dared to cherish it, their hearts were crushed, and their hope was lost, and to the tidings of deliverance they would not listen.

But though another king had arisen that knew not Joseph, and the Egyptian dynasty had been changed, the same unchangeable Jehovah, making himself known by that name, declared the immutability of his covenant with the seed of Jacob. Their cry came up unto God by reason of their bondage, and God looked upon the children of Israel, and had respect unto them.† And when their oppression was increased beyond endurance, and the ordained slaughter of each male child threatened the annihilation of their race, their deliverance was signal and glorious; and whenever the word for its ratification came forth from their God, all earthly power was tried in vain to prevent or to suspend the execution of the covenant.

Because Pharaoh would not let the people go, miracle after miracle brought plague upon plague, till the last hour had come in which the children of Israel were to remain in Egypt. At midnight the Lord smote the first-born in every family of the Egyptians; and the hardened heart of the king being humbled at last, he was constrained to urge them to depart, at the very moment when they were equipped for their journey.‡ When, again infatuated to pursue them, his horse, and chariots, and horsemen were entombed in the Red Sea, while Israel passed over on dry ground, the waters being a wall to them on the right hand and on the left,§ the Lord, triumphing gloriously, redeemed the seed of Jacob with a strong hand, and a stretched-out arm, and with great judgments and fury poured forth upon their enemies.

The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness. His covenant with Israel could not fail. Rather should the Red Sea be a pathway for hundreds

* Exod., v., 12–17. † Ib., ii., 25. ‡ Ib., xii., 31. § Ib., xiv., 22, 28, 29.

of thousands to pass over dry-shod—rather should manna, as from heaven, fall down daily in abundance for them all, and the stream flow from the flinty rock—rather should a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, guide them on their way—rather should the waters of Jordan fly back before the feet of those who bore the ark of the covenant, and the walls of Jericho fall down at the blast of the smallest horns, than the Lord should not plant his people in the land which He had promised to give to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and to their seed forever. Nay, rather should the sun and the moon stand still, as his witnesses in the heavens, at the commandment of a man who was steadfast in the covenant of the Lord, and led the Israelites into Canaan, than the word of the Eternal fail in driving out their enemies before them.

SECTION II.

But God is not a respecter of persons; and merciful and gracious as He is, yet He will by no means clear the guilty. Known to the Israelites as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob—as the Almighty, and as Jehovah—He made himself known to them also as the Holy One of Israel; and He chose them unto himself for a peculiar and a holy people. He entered into a covenant with *them, when He brought them out of the land of Egypt.* The law was then given them; and life and death were set before them. *The words of the covenant—the ten commandments*—were written on tables of stone by the finger of the Lord; *and after the tenour of these words He made a covenant with Israel.**

Sin can have no fellowship with God; He is angry with the wicked every day; and sinners, as such, cannot enter into covenant or communion with Him. A sinner, however, like all other men, Abraham was; and even when the Lord had made and confirmed his covenant with him, he confessed that he was but *dust and ashes* in his sight.† But *he believed in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness.* His faith was shown by his obedience to the voice of the Lord, even till his hand was lifted up to sacrifice his beloved son, the very heir of promise. The covenant concerning the land was made with believing men. They believed in a righteousness not their own; they saw the day

* Exod., xxxiv., 27. † Gen., xviii., 27.

of Christ afar off, and were glad; and the covenant between God and them was gracious and everlasting, and bears its *token* in all generations of their race. But, even under the Old Testament dispensation, circumcision became as uncircumcision, and availed nothing, if, with *uncircumcised hearts*, they were not the children of *faithful* Abraham. An Israelite according to the flesh alone had no right to the inheritance of the land, if faith was wanting.

Of this their earliest history supplies an obvious illustration, a fearful "example of unbelief," in the multitudes that were brought out of Egypt, and were led to the very borders of the promised land, and were commanded to enter it; but who, fearful of their enemies, and distrusting the power and disbelieving the promises of God, "could not enter in because of unbelief."* "How *long will this people provoke me? how long will it be ere they believe me?* for all the signs which I have shown them, said the Lord."† He threatened to *disinherit* them, and in their stead to make of Moses a greater and mightier nation than they. But, jealous for the glory of the Lord, their magnanimous leader, regardless of the promised exaltation of his own house, pleaded fervently for Israel, that the name of their God might not be blasphemed by the Egyptians and other nations. "They will say," said Moses, "that the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land which He sware unto them, therefore He hath slain them in the wilderness." "And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word; but *as truly as I live*, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord; but because these men have not hearkened unto my voice, *surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers;* to-morrow turn you, and get you into the *wilderness*."‡ There, according to his word, that unbelieving and evil generation fell. And not till all above twenty years old, who had come out of Egypt—save Caleb and Joshua, who had another spirit in them—had perished there, did Israel, when another generation had arisen, enter into Canaan.

A most striking and instructive illustration is thus presented, in the very beginning of their national history, of the fact that their unbelief could not make void the promises of God to their fathers; and that their breaking of the covenant made with them could not annul the covenant with

* Heb., iii., 14. † Num., xiv., 11, 12. ‡ Ibid., 15, 16, 21-25.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which the Lord confirmed as everlasting, centuries before the law was given by Moses. The whole nation might have been *disinherited*, as threatened, and slain *as one man;* but God, as He declared, would have made, even of a single individual left in Israel, a greater and mightier nation, in whom He would fulfil his promises. An unbelieving generation *did* perish in the wilderness, and yet the Lord, in contradiction of the averment of the heathen, did bring his people into the land which He sware unto them. Whatever might seem to frustrate the covenant with Abraham; whatever, in the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God, might seem in human view to annul and to annihilate it, by rendering its execution apparently impossible; still, as *truly as the Lord liveth* —and his name Jehovah tells that He is the ever-living God—his covenant should stand fast as his very being; and, neither mutilated nor marred, either by the unbelief of his people for a season, however long, or by the blasphemies of the heathen, whatever hard speeches they might utter against HIM, it would be established at last, in very faithfulness, as at first He had confirmed it by his oath. *Hath He said?* hath He sworn? *and shall He not do it?* Assuredly the promises to the fathers shall be fulfilled, and the *everlasting possession* of the land by the seed of Abraham shall be conjoined with the simultaneously promised blessing to all the families of the earth. For then, and not till then, in that glorious consummation alone, shall these words be true, which, *swearing by himself, as He could not swear by a greater*, the Lord spake at the very time when even Moses feared that his name would be blasphemed, and his power derided, if his people should perish in the *wilderness:* "AS TRULY AS I LIVE, ALL THE EARTH SHALL BE FILLED WITH THE GLORY OF THE LORD. *To-morrow, turn ye, and get ye into the wilderness.*" Whatever the nations might say, or whatever the Israelites might do, the Lord himself would see to the execution of his covenant in all its parts; into his own hand He had taken it; and it rested with Him, and with Him alone, that the unbelief of the Jews and the ungodliness of the nations should finally everywhere cease; and that not even one word should fall from the covenant any more than from the law, till all the earth should be filled with his glory, and see and acknowledge that the Holy One of Israel is the Lord, with whom all things are possi-

ble. The whole earth itself is the witness to this hour that the time is not yet: none, but worse than Egyptian blasphemers, can say that it never shall be, for the promise is *as true as the Lord liveth.*

Another illustration here arises, plain and palpable in the sight of all believers in Moses, and in the history of which he was the sacred penman; a truth which is also confirmed as clearly at every step in all the progress of Israelitish history, as the apostle hath declared it—*the law makes nothing perfect.** Luminous as this is in the eye of faith, it is a *hard saying* to those *sinners* of the Gentiles, who, like the Jews in many generations, bearing everywhere the curses of that covenant, go about to establish a righteousness of their own. The fact stands out most prominently in Jewish history, and forms its commencement. In the very first year after the law was given, the children of Israel, released from bondage and first united as a people, could not, notwithstanding the promise, enter into Canaan. The whole nation had broken it. From the sin of *unbelief* it could not save them. And the God of their fathers, at the very time his promises would otherwise have been fulfilled, threatened to smite them with pestilence, and to disinherit them; and Moses, by whom the law was given, prayed that the whole nation might not be killed as one man, because of their transgressions and unfaithfulness in the covenant made under the law. They were commanded back from the borders of Canaan to die in the wilderness. But while the law condemned them, the covenant with their fathers stood; and therefore, as in ages after, Israel was not wholly consumed.

Unlike to that unconditional covenant which God made with Abraham, and which He will doubtless fulfil to the praise of the glory of his grace, the covenant which He made, and repeatedly renewed with the Israelites under the law, was coupled with the most express conditions, on the breach of which fearful judgments were denounced. And the blessings and the curses, which pertained to this covenant, according to their obedience or disobedience, were set before them, and read in the hearing of all the people, both before and after they entered the land promised to their fathers.

"This day," said Moses, "the Lord thy God hath com-

* Heb., vii., 19.

manded thee to do these statutes and judgments; thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thy heart and all thy soul. Thou hast avouched the Lord to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken to his voice; and the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as He hath promised thee, and that thou shouldst keep all his commandments; and to make thee high above all nations which He hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour; if that thou mayest be a holy people unto the Lord thy God, as He hath spoken."* Ye stand all of you this day before the Lord your God, your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, with all the men of Israel, that thou shouldst enter into *covenant with the Lord thy God, and with his oath which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day,* that He may establish thee to-day for a people unto himself, and that He may be unto thee a God, as He hath said unto thee, and as He hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath, but with him that standeth before the Lord thy God, and also with him that is not here with us this day, lest there be among you man, or woman, or family, or tribe whose heart turneth away this day from the Lord our God, &c. The Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven, and the Lord shall separate him unto evil out of all the tribes of Israel, *according to all the curses that are written in this book of the law;* so that the generations to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sickness that the Lord hath laid upon it, Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger? Then men shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers, *which He made with them when He brought them forth out of the land of Egypt:* and the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land to bring upon it all the curses that are written in this book.†

Such is the tenour of the covenant made with the Israel-

* Deut., xxvii., 16-19. † Ibid., xxix., 10-25.

ites *when they came out of Egypt, and before they entered into Canaan.* After their entrance into the promised land, it was renewed by Joshua, and again before his death; and in his last words he said unto the people, "Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen the Lord to serve Him; and they said, We are witnesses: the Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey. So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day."* These were all but several renewals of the covenant which the Lord made with Israel on the day when He brought them out of Egypt, and when the law was given by Moses.

Greatly does this covenant differ, as it is thus manifestly distinct, from that made by the Lord with Abraham, and with Isaac, and with Jacob. *That* covenant was full of promises and blessings alone, the final and full completion of which the Lord took into his own hands, and ratified by his own oath; *this* had conditions annexed to it, the breach of which, on the part of the children of Israel, would bring on them all the *curses of the covenant.* The one was made with men of faith, who were thus accounted righteous before the Lord; the other was made after the tenour of the words of the law, by which no sinful mortal can be justified in his sight. The one gave unreservedly to the seed of Jacob a large and goodly land for an everlasting possession; the other conveyed only a conditional tenure of the land, and pointed, as with the finger of the Lord, to the tribes of Israel rooted out of their inheritance, and scattered among all the nations of the earth, while the curses of a broken covenant also rested on their blasted heritage. The first conferred on the seed of Jacob the blessed privilege of being a blessing to all the families of the earth; the other denounced against transgressors the blotting out of their name from under heaven.

If a distinction be not made between one covenant, resting securely on the faithfulness of God, and another suspended tremblingly on the obedience of man, it is not to be wondered at that doubts should be cast by thousands on the restoration of Israel, and the fulfilment of the promises of God to the fathers. But if things that so essentially differ be distinguished, and the one covenant be not confounded with the other, that concerning which God lifted up his hand to Abraham, and to Isaac, and to Jacob, will be seen

* Joshua, xxiv., 22, &c.

to stand entire as at the beginning in all its indiminishable force, and to shine forth as a lamp lighted from heaven in all its bright, unalterable truth, even as the other has been confirmed in the desolation of Judea, and the dispersion of the Jews to this day. If the first had been like unto the second, with such conditions and "curses" annexed to it, the signs of its confirmation might have been, not a smoking furnace, but a consuming fire; not a burning lamp, but a flickering gleam.

If the Israelites had been steadfast in the covenant which the Lord made with them when He *brought them out of the land of Egypt*, then the covenant would have been fulfilled to them, in ages past, which He made with the faithful patriarchs when they were wanderers in Canaan. But, faithless as they were, another, a new, and an everlasting covenant has yet to be entered into with *them;* and under it alone, and not under a broken covenant and a broken law, can they ever retain, though they may regain, possession of their fatherland, or ever inherit it in the full extent, as given to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and to their seed forever. *Not a jot or tittle* has fallen or *can fall from the law*, as the Lord has shown, and will yet show, by avenging the quarrel of his covenant, which He made with the Israelites when He brought them out of the land of Egypt; and not a jot or tittle can fail of the better covenant, confirmed as everlasting, and which can never be annulled.

Most clearly does Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, or, rather, the Spirit of truth by which he speaks, distinguish between the covenant made with Abraham and that which the Lord made with the Israelites under the law.

In addressing "the foolish Galatians" concerning one of the covenanted promises to Abraham, he thus speaks, in reason as in faith: "This I say, that the covenant which was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was *four hundred and thirty years after*, cannot annul, that it should make the *promise* of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but *God gave it to Abraham by promise*."*

The same distinction is maintained by all the prophets. And throughout the history of the Israelites of old, whether prophetic or actual, even while the curses of the covenant which the Lord made with them when He brought them

* Gal., iii., 17, 18.

out of Egypt, and which they broke, fell most heavily upon them, the immutability of the promises to Abraham were ever declared anew. And express provision was made by the Lord, as declared in his word, for the perpetuity of that covenant in the fulness of its blessing, however distant the time of its completion.

Heaven and earth were called to witness against the children of Israel, that if they did evil in his sight, they would utterly perish from off the land which He had given them; and the Lord would scatter them among all nations, even among all people, from the one end of the earth unto the other. But, notwithstanding this, however much they should denude themselves of all right, on their part, to the possession of the land, and exclude themselves, by their sins and their impenitence, from the covenanted blessings of their fathers' God, and therefore certainly bring upon their own heads, in all their fulness and in all their terribleness, age after age, in every country under heaven, all the judgments denounced against them, such as the heathen had not known, even all the curses of the covenant; whatever might be the degree of their iniquity, or the duration of their miseries, while their multiplied transgressions should meet with sevenfold punishments; however severely the Lord would punish them, and however long his hand might be stretched out against them, till his anger should be turned away, yet He would not abhor them to destroy them utterly as a people; and no sin of theirs could ever annul the covenant concerning which He had lifted up his hand to their fathers. They might forget it, but the Lord would remember it still. Scattered as they should be among all people from the one end of the earth unto the other, and set for evil and not for good, as the eyes of the Lord should be everywhere upon them during all the ages of their unfaithfulness and impenitence, yet hath the Lord never said to any of the seed of Jacob, Seek ye my face in vain. And long prior in time as the promises to the fathers were, before the giving of the law, so, when all the curses of their own broken covenant shall have passed over them, that with Abraham should be remembered, and remain the everlasting covenant of unchangeable Jehovah. Ere, in his faithfulness, He first planted them in Canaan, and warned them that if they kept not the covenant which He made with them then, they should not only cease to possess the land of their inherit-

ance, but seek in vain, throughout all the earth, a place whereon the sole of their feet could find rest—these were still the words of the same God who had called Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees.

"If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass which they trespassed against me, and also that they have walked contrary to me, and that I also have walked contrary to them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity, then *will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Israel, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember, and I will remember the land.* The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her Sabbaths (rest), while she lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity, because, even because they despised my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes. And *yet for all that*, when they be in the land of their enemies I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and *to break my covenant with them*, for I am the Lord their God. But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt, in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God: I am the Lord."* "When all these things are come upon you, even in the *latter days*, if thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shall be obedient to his voice (for the Lord thy God is a merciful God), He will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the *covenant of thy fathers which He sware unto them.*"†

"And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and *gather thee from all nations whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee.* If any of thine be driven out into the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from

* Levit. xxvi., 40–45. † Deut., iv., 30, 31.

thence will He fetch thee: and the Lord thy God *will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers.* And the Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee. And thou shalt return and obey the voice of the Lord, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day. And the Lord thy God shall make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, and in the *fruit of thy land for good;* for the Lord will again rejoice over thee for good, as He rejoiced over thy fathers—if thou shalt hearken to his voice."* "I call heaven and earth to record against thee this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that thou mayest dwell in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, to *Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give them.*"†

The covenant of God with the fathers concerning the land was thus to stand forever unrepealed, and the promises to them would survive all the curses of that covenant which was made with the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. Scattered as they have been unto the uttermost parts of the earth, and come upon them as the curses of the covenant have—resting on them till they return unto their God, and upon their land till they be brought back to it—*yet for all that,* the covenant of the Lord is as fresh in his remembrance as when He first brought their ancestors out of the land of Egypt.

But, now as then, the very promises annexed to a covenant made under the *law,* in conformity with the better and prior covenant, necessarily and expressly involve the condition of perfect obedience, which, were it but for them alone, could never be fulfilled. And if the first covenant with the Israelites had been the last, it would not have been for man or angel to tell how the holy law of the Lord could have been vindicated, and the oath of the Lord have been performed.

The law does indeed seem to interpose a barrier to the completion of the promise. Exacting just vengeance on a faithless race, it drove them from the borders of the land when first they approached it. When they entered Canaan,

* Deut., xxx., 1-10. † Ibid., ver. 19, 20.

it soon stayed their progress, and kept many an enemy within their borders, to harass them in every age. With sevenfold severity it inflicted punishment after punishment, and brought, at last, in guardianship of the covenant made under it, as the avenger of its quarrel, the mightiest nation of the earth *to root out* the last remnant of Israel from the land of their inheritance, *with wrath, and anger, and great indignation*,* and with all the unequalled miseries of the siege, and sack, and destruction of Jerusalem.

But God did not call Abraham, and make Jacob faithful, and then promise by an oath to believing men that He gave the land of Canaan to be the everlasting inheritance of their seed, in order to keep them forever under that *legal* covenant by which they could claim and keep the land only in virtue of a righteousness of their own. The spirit of the Pharisees has not yet altogether departed from Israel. The traditions of men have more weight with many besides them than the testimony of God. But we cannot pander to such a spirit by closing the proof of the restoration of Israel's inheritance, in terms of that covenant which was coeval with the law. Rather, while looking to it, would we say with Joshua, even when the most faithful generation ever in Israel heard him, "*Ye cannot serve the Lord:* for He is a holy God; He is a jealous God; He will not forgive your transgressions and your sins. If ye forsake the Lord, and serve strange gods, then He will turn and do you hurt, and consume you, after that He hath done you good."†

The Mosaic covenant did indeed point to, without providing for, the time when its curses would be no more, but all the promises should survive them in blissful completion.

SECTION III.

For the full understanding of the promises that guaranty the everlasting possession of their inheritance to the seed of Israel, not only many things that differ be distinguished, and the oath to Abraham be kept clear of the curses of another covenant, which unbelieving men, not the children of *faithful* Abraham, have brought upon themselves age after age, but the mutual relations of things that assimilate and are destined to co-operate in the one glorious consummation may be severally marked. The means are here prepared whereby the crooked may be made straight, and the rough places plain.

* Deut., xxix., 28. † Joshua, xxiv., 19, 20.

Not two merely, but four covenants of the Lord are mentioned in Scripture, which have an important or essential bearing on the completion of the promises to Abraham concerning *the land*, as well as the promised blessing to all the families of the earth in his seed. Some allusion to them all may be needful here, before adducing the farther testimony of the Spirit, as recorded by David and the succeeding prophets, concerning the perpetuity of the territorial inheritance of the seed of Israel.

These are, 1. The covenant with Abraham, and with Isaac, and with Jacob, which is one and the same, repeated and confirmed successively to them. 2. The covenant of the Lord with the Israelites, on the day in which He brought them out of the land of Egypt. To these, already noticed, are added, 3. The covenant with David, respecting the establishment of his house and of his throne forever; and, 4. The new and everlasting covenant which the Lord will make, in the latter days, with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah.

Each word, as well as each covenant of the living God, is a law—an irresistible power, which must fulfil the purpose for which He sent it. Like the laws which He has given to physical nature, and which govern it all, and exist in perfect harmony, as manifested in the movements of the orbs of heaven, which all obey his voice, so these covenants of God with children of men, in their combined efficacy, under the sovereignty of his grace as of his power, have their decreed purpose to fulfil, in finally evolving an analogous harmony in the moral world here below, when *Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation, and the will of the Lord be done on earth as it is in heaven.*

Indiscriminately commingled, these covenants, in the dimness of human apprehension, without regarding the distinctness of the Divine testimony, have sometimes been considered rather as conflicting elements that jar against each other when brought into contact, than conspiring causes whose ultimate result is the salvation of Israel and the glory of Israel's God. And when viewed apart, or looked at singly, not only has not due weight been assigned to each word of each covenant, but, as if commentators had been handling the Koran rather than the Bible the latter has been made to explain or to absorb the former, and the ingenuity of Christians has been exercised in attempting to

accomplish what the unbelief of the Jews could not effect, and to make void the promises of God.

The blessed consummation which it is designed to secure would not indeed be seen, were the covenant of God with Abraham limited to the everlasting possession by any race of mortals of any land on earth. But jointly with the completion of the promise concerning the land to Israel is that of the extension of blessings in the selfsame covenant to *all the families of the earth;* and instead of these being repulsive elements, none in nature can have a closer affinity than those must ultimately be seen to bear to each other, which are thus joined together in the covenant concerning which the God of nature and of nations, of heaven and of earth, has lifted up his hand, and sworn to as everlasting. And in Christian faith it may be asked, What shall the receiving of *them* be but *life from the dead?*

The next chapter will form a more appropriate place for showing that the Abrahamic covenant concerning the land has never yet been fully completed, even in regard to the extent of the promised *possession.* How far it should have been fulfilled, or how long it should have borne even a vestige of actual fulfilment among the Israelites under the law, depended on the observance or the breach of the special covenant which God had made with them. *It* had no clause bearing a blessing to all nations; nor was it declared to be everlasting. But, on the contrary, its curses, which assigned to all transgressors their merited doom, were sufficient for the extermination of any race of mortals, or of all nations upon earth. It ever cried for blood, and wrought death and destruction, even as it exacted perfect obedience; and said, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them.* "As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse."† And looking only to it, and to its curses resting visibly both on the Jews and on their land, the promise might well seem to be annulled, except on conditions sinful mortals could not fulfil, and the hope of Israel to be cut off forever.

But, according to the testimony of the Old Testament and the doctrine of the New, which are perfectly accordant in all things, that covenant made with the Israelites in the day when the Lord brought them out of the land of Egypt

* Deut., xxvii., 26. Jer., xi., 3. † Galat., iii., 10.

was not, with its curses, to stand forever, but has to be superseded by a new and everlasting covenant made with the same people. The law was not to be destroyed, but to be fulfilled, and to be transferred from tables of stone to the fleshy tablets of the heart, and to be written there by the same finger of the Lord.

The Apostle Paul maintains the *immutability* of the covenant confirmed by an oath to Abraham, centuries before the law was given by Moses, by which, therefore, it *could not be annulled.** He speaks as explicitly, quoting the testimony of the Spirit as recorded by Jeremiah, of the ceasing of the covenant made under the law, as finally superseded by another. "If the first covenant (with the Israelites) had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second. But, finding fault with them, He saith, Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah. Not according to *the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt*, because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After these days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people; and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more. In that He saith a new covenant, He hath made the first old, now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."†

Amply did the Lord provide for the accomplishment of his promises to the fathers. Though the "curses of that covenant" which He made with their seed have driven both Israelites and Jews, long distinct from each other, from the land of their inheritance, He will make a new and everlasting covenant of mercy and peace with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah. Bearing the two tables of the law, the ten commandments, written on stone, their hearts failed them for fear at the sight of their enemies, and even at the tidings of their strength. The curses of their broken

* Gal., iii., 17. † Heb., viii., 7-13. Jer., xxxi., 31, &c.

covenant followed them in every age, rooted them out of their own land, and have everywhere pursued and overtaken them, and have been upon them for a *sign and for a wonder for many generations* in every country under heaven. But *after these days*, when they shall bear in their hearts the law of their God according to his own everlasting covenant of mercy and of peace, and when they all shall know Him from the least unto the greatest, and He will be merciful unto their unrighteousness, and remember their sins and iniquities no more, then the curses of the old covenant, itself vanished away, shall no longer be a barrier against their entrance, nor a hinderance to the full possession and final retention of the land; nor shall they in any way interpose, as heretofore, to retard the full performance of the oath which the Lord sware to Abraham, to give the land of Canaan to his seed for an everlasting possession. Surely the promises made to the believing fathers shall be fulfilled to their believing children, even as truly as the Lord liveth. The days of their mourning shall be ended. *Thy people also shall be all righteous; they shall inherit the land forever.**

The Israelites *continued not in the first covenant which the Lord* made with them: therefore are they wanderers throughout the world, who have nowhere found a place on which the sole of their foot could rest—a people without a country; even as their own land, as subsequently to be shown, is in a great measure a country without a people. The one and the other have been smitten with a curse. But let that curse be taken away—let the Lord *remember the people* and *remember the land*, and there shall be no more scattering nor wandering, no more desolation, no more separation between Zion and her children. Israel has ruined himself; but in the Lord his help is to be found, even plenteous redemption. The broken fragments of the tables of the law were not gathered up and cemented together, but new tables were made, on which the law was written, at the command of the Lord, by the hand of Moses. And a broken covenant is not renewed, but a new and everlasting covenant is *established upon better promises*, and appointed by the Lord in the hand of a Mediator.

Such is the connexion between the covenant with Abraham and the new and everlasting covenant which the Lord will make with the house of Israel, that the words of Jere-

* Isaiah, lx., 30, 31.

miah, quoted by Paul, in which it is so explicitly announced, are ushered in by the declaration of the Lord himself, that He *will bring again their captivity;* and that, like as He watched over them to pluck up and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict, so will He watch over them to build and to plant.* And the words which immediately follow the description of the nature of the new covenant are, "Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinance of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar—the Lord of Hosts is his name. If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever. Thus saith the Lord, If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off all the seed of Israel for all that they have done, saith the Lord. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord; and the measuring line shall go over against it; and it shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more forever."† Such shall be the issue of the establishment of the new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah.

The first foundation of it is, indeed, the first promise to sinful man: the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent. The promise assumed a more definite form when Abraham, at the command of the Lord, had gone to Canaan; and again still more expressly when David had taken the stronghold of Zion. The covenant with Abraham secured ultimately, though not immediately, a special boon to a peculiar people, and the blessing of redemption to all the families of the earth. Justice interposed so soon as, under the law, the march was begun from the house of bondage to the land of promise. But when David was called from the sheepfold to the throne, and when he who, while a stripling, had gone forth in faith against Goliath, was seated there, a covenant was made with him, of which the character is mercy, and by which the faithfulness of God is made known and established to all generations, and a horn of salvation was raised up in his house for Jew and Gentile.

"I will sing," says the royal and inspired Psalmist, "of the mercies of the Lord forever: with my mouth will I

* Jer., xxxi., 23, 28. † Ibid., xxxi., 35–40.

make known thy faithfulness to all generations. For I have said, mercy shall be built up forever: thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens. I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant, Thy seed will I establish forever, and build up thy throne to all generations.* Then thou spakest in vision to thy holy One, and saidst, I have laid help upon one that is mighty; I have exalted one chosen out of the people. I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him—with whom my hand shall be established. My faithfulness and my mercy shall be with him; and in my name shall his horn be exalted. Also, I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and *my covenant shall stand fast with him.* His seed also will I make to endure forever, and his throne as the days of heaven. *I will not suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.* Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure forever, and his throne as the sun before me."†

In virtue of this covenant, the evangelical prophet proclaims the free Gospel call to all the ends of the earth, which shall finally see the salvation of the Lord. "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price; incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even *the sure mercies of David,*"‡ &c.

In denouncing on Israel, because of unfaithfulness, the curses of the covenant under the law, the same prophet said, The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted upon Israel.§ And Moses, by whom that covenant was given, declared, that if the children of Israel would repent and return unto the Lord, and love him with all their hearts, the Lord would take these curses from them and put them upon their enemies.‖ But it may be feared that while the Gentiles, professing the faith of the Gospel, have accounted the sure mercies of David theirs, they have often left nothing but "the curses" as the appointed portion of the people to

* Ps. lxxxix., 1–4. † Ib., 19, 20, 24–36. ‡ Isa., lv., 1–3.
§ Isa., ix., 8. ‖ Deut., xxx., 7.

whose fathers the promises were given. Or if, as cannot be denied, it be admitted, that were the door at which the Son of David now stands and knocks, opened *by any man*, whether Jew or Gentile, who hears his voice, He will come in to him,* yet there may be, in the minds of many, a lingering apprehension, if not a positive belief, that the Jews have long been shut out from the covenanted promises of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, as in any way peculiar to their seed, or pertaining to the land of their inheritance.

Such an opinion derives a seeming sanction from the high attributes with which it seems to clothe the everlasting covenant of grace and mercy by a Redeemer, and forbids, as it were, the overshadowing of "the glory of the latter days" by any merely territorial allotment to any peculiar people, when the same great salvation, in all the fulness of the Gospel, shall extend alike to all.

That glory is not to be defined, which since the beginning of the world men have not heard, neither perceived with the ear, neither hath the eye seen, but the Lord alone —even the glory which He hath prepared for him that waited for Him.† But these words, which set forth that glory as indescribable, because inconceivable, follow the prayer of the prophet, and may be regarded as its answer: "*Return, for thy servant's sake, the tribes of thine inheritance.* The people of thy holiness have possessed it for a little while: our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary. We are thine: thou never barest rule over them; they were not called by thy name. Oh that thou wouldst rend the heavens, that thou wouldst come down,"‡ &c.

True it is that we now see through a glass darkly, but then face to face. It is well to cast down high imaginations, and not vainly seek to be wise above what is written. But it is also *well to give heed to the sure word of prophecy:* and it *is* written, Shake thyself from the dust: arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion. The watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing; *for they shall see eye to eye*, WHEN THE LORD SHALL BRING AGAIN ZION. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Lord hath comforted his people, for He hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath

* Rev., iii., 20. † Isa., lxiv., 4. ‡ Isa., lxiii., 17–19; lxiv., 1.

made bare his holy arm in the sight of all nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of the Lord.*

The introduction of the Gospel dispensation, and the adoption of Gentiles into the household of faith (of others than those who have trodden down the sanctuary), the scattering of the Jews among all nations, their long-continued impenitence, and seeming excision forever, have often led Christians to forget not only the sure word of prophecy, but also the testimony of an apostle, *That God hath not cast away Israel, that they are beloved for the father's sake, and that the gifts and calling of God are without repentance,* or change of purpose.†

There is no arguing against facts; there is no arguing against texts, which declare the will and purpose of Jehovah, and sometimes even his covenant and his oath. The tenour of these we have already seen. But, were it possible, assurance becomes doubly sure when we look at such objections in the light of Scripture, as it still more fully reveals this very thing, and shows that the covenant with David, and the new and everlasting covenant with Israel conjoined, are the very completion of the covenant, the very confirmation, in fact, of the oath which the Lord sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, that He would give the promised land to be their everlasting possession, and also, simultaneously realized as recorded, that in their seed all the families of the earth shall be blessed. The restoration and redemption of Israel are often associated in Scripture, as originally in the covenant, with the salvation of the world.

These two things which God hath joined together, and over both of which alike He has lifted up his hand, ought not to be put asunder by man; and are not to be separated by any words that can come from human lips. They are, we believe, equally true; and in their harmony, when all nations shall hear the joyful sound, and see the glorious sight, the restoration of the moral harmony of this world is dependant.

There is no room here for any jealousy for the honour of the Gospel; rather is it here that *the headstone shall be brought forth with shoutings, Grace, Grace unto it.*‡ The restoration of Israel stands on the promise of God, and is not to be achieved through the merit of man. And the Gospel was preached at the time when that promise was given.

* Isa., lii., 1, 8–10. † Rom., xi., 28, 29. ‡ Zech., iv., 7.

"The Scriptures, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed."* This fact enters into the faith of all believers; and it forms the very hope of the Gentiles, never to be renounced, never to be forgotten. And is it well to let oblivion pass over the other promise to Abraham, no less clearly given, no less solemnly guarantied? Is there no danger to faith itself in quashing the question of the fulfilment of the promise, and the performance of the oath of the Lord, concerning the land, as if it were not to be raised from the dormancy of ages into which it has fallen among Christian men? It is by these *two immutable things*, his promise and his oath, in which it was impossible for God to lie, that we have a strong consolation who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us.† And it was by these two immutable things that Israel's charter to the land was confirmed; and on them it reposes, as secure as the hope of the faithful.

But it may be asked, in words more expressive of disbelief than of faith, What are the Israelites as a people, hitherto a reproach and by-word among the nations, that they should possess any distinctive privilege? What is the land of Israel more than any other land? Or, save for the memory of the past, what is Jerusalem more than any other city? That, in each case, which the Lord hath declared that they shall be. What—for the question is equivalent—is the truth and faithfulness of God? What his covenant and his oath? What the purpose which He hath declared? and what the consequent glory of his name? We ask not here what the Israelites were under the first covenant and its curses, but what they shall be under the second and its blessings. What say the Scriptures? and are they to be believed or not?

No testimony can be more explicit and decided than that of David himself, as twice recorded in Scripture, that the part of the covenant with Abraham which Christians are so prone to overlook, ought to be held in perpetual remembrance, as well as the other, "Seek ye the Lord and his strength; seek his face continually. Remember his marvellous works that He hath done, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth; O ye seed of Jacob his servant, ye

* Gal., iii., 8. † Heb., vi., 18.

children of Jacob, his chosen ones. He is the Lord our God; his judgments are in all the earth. Be *ye mindful always of his covenant*, the word which He commanded to *a thousand generations;* even the covenant which He made with Abraham, and his oath unto Isaac; and hath enjoined the same to Jacob for a law, and to Israel for *an everlasting covenant;* saying, Unto thee will *I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance;* when ye were but few, even a few, and strangers in it."*

David feared no infringement of the covenant with his house, because of that which the Lord had made before with the fathers. Nay, rather, when seated upon his throne, an anointed and covenanted king, exercising a sovereignty which was recognised from the borders of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates, he looked back for twelve, thirteen, and fourteen generations, to the days when the covenant was made with Abraham ere he had a son for an heir, attested to Isaac, whose two sons were all his family, and confirmed as a law and an everlasting covenant to Jacob, all of whose descendants, on leaving Canaan, numbered threescore and ten persons; and he did not limit its duration to a few more generations of shortlived mortals, but, knowing in whom he believed, he spake like a king, with whom and with whose house the Eternal had made a covenant forever; and in words which earthly monarchs cannot use in speaking of their dynasties or kingdoms, he called on all the sons of Jacob to be always mindful of the covenant which the Lord had commanded to a *thousand generations*, that *the land of Canaan* should be *the lot of their inheritance*.

So far was the covenant with David from annulling this or any other of the promises of God, that, ever after its announcement, the prophets, who testified of the coming of the Messiah, speak in other strains than those of Moses and Joshua touching the final return of the seed of Jacob to the land of their inheritance. The promises, expressed in positive terms, are again free and unconditional as when first made to Abraham, and are no longer dependant on the obedience or merit of man, but on the faithfulness and mercy of God. They are, indeed, to be fulfilled, as they were first uttered, to believing men. But for the redemption of Israel the Lord hath provided; and He who said to

* 1 Chron., xvi., 11-19. Ps. cv., 4-12.

Jacob, *I will make thee faithful*—I will not leave thee till I have done all that I have spoken to thee of, will *give his seed a heart to know him, and put a new spirit within them,** and make with them an everlasting covenant of peace.

Dark as the history of any nation, and often utterly impervious to all human hope, as that of Israel in past ages has been, yet there has ever been a light sufficient to illuminate the darkest place, and the radiance of the sure word of prophecy has shone throughout the gloom, and, where all else was the blackness of darkness, has often opened up to view, as a *lamp that burneth*, the covenant that standeth forever.

When, as the Lord had also sworn, the curses of the covenant which He made with the Israelites when they came out of Egypt, fell most heavily on all the evil family that had brought them on their own heads, and threatened to lay the house of Jacob in the dust forever, there was still some token or testimony from the Lord that these curses would not be of everlasting duration; and there was yet hope for Israel, founded on the promise to the fathers, and the assurance that the covenant with David would finally lead to the completion of the covenant with Abraham.

Before Israel became an *outcast* people, idolaters as they had been, multiplying transgressions, and, though chastened, refusing to return, and revolting more and more, yet the Lord addressed them like a father whose heart yearns on banishing from his household the child of his bowels, though a rebellious son, "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? my heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Israel."† And when the righteous sentence must come forth from the Holy One of Israel, it is wound up with a promise of that final deliverance which shall be found in the Son of David, for whom *mercy shall be kept forever, and with whom the covenant shall stand for evermore.*‡

Before the ten tribes were plucked from their land, and led captive into Assyria, their return in the latter days was explicitly declared in the words of Hosea, as in many other passages of Scripture. "The children of Israel shall abide

* Jer., xxiv., 7. Ezek., xxxvi., 26. † Hosea, xi., 8, 9. ‡ Psalm lxxxix.

many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice, and without an image, and without ephod, and without teraphim. Afterward shall the children of Israel *return*, and seek the Lord their God, *and David their king*; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness *in the latter days*."*

Even when *outcast* Israel was like a child banished from a father's house, the words of the Lord are still those of a Father to Israel. *Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for since I did speak against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord. Turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities.*†

Though Israel was cast out, but not cast away forever, the sceptre was not to depart from Judah till Shiloh should come; and that tribe continued unbroken till the Messiah was cut off, and the city and the sanctuary, as Daniel foretold, were destroyed by the Romans, and desolations appointed even to the consummation. But long ere then they suffered, though in a slighter degree, the penalties of a broken law, and Judah could not always retain Jerusalem. Yet before their seventy years' captivity began, a pledge was first given by the prophet who foretold the extirpation of the Jews from the land of their fathers, that the covenant with Abraham, as finally to be fulfilled, was not abrogated for an hour.

When, after having possessed Judea for eight hundred and fifty years, the Jews were about to be led captive to Babylon, and Jerusalem to be given into the hands of the Chaldeans, as the word of the Lord declared; and, in human seeming, the covenant was to be broken by the departure forever of the last remaining tribe of Israel, Jeremiah, at the command of the Lord, bought a field in Anathoth, the redemption of which was his right, from Hananeel, his uncle's son. He subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed the money in the balances, and took the evidence of the purchase, and gave it unto Baruch, in the sight of Hananeel, in the presence of the witnesses that subscribed the book, before all the Jews that sat in the court of the prison. And he charged Baruch before them, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Take these evidences, and put them in an earth-

* Hosea, iii., 4, 5. † Jer., xxxi., 20, 21.

en vessel, that they may continue many days. For thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Houses, and fields, and vineyards shall be possessed again in this land. And Jeremiah prayed unto the Lord, saying, Ah, Lord God! behold, thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy power and stretched-out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee, &c. He spake of the signs and wonders which the Lord had wrought in bringing them to that land, *which He did swear to their fathers to give them.* He acknowledged that their transgression was the cause of their calamities; and he appealed to the enemies around Jerusalem as a sure evidence that they would be led captive, and to the purchase he had made as a sure token of their return. And in the word that came to him, we read, "Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, concerning this city whereof ye say, it shall be delivered into the hand of the King of Babylon, by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: Behold, I will gather them out of *all countries*, whither I have driven them in mine anger, and in my fury, and in great wrath; and I will bring them again unto this place, and I will cause them to dwell safely: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God. And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me *forever*, for the good of them and of their children after them: and I will make an *everlasting covenant with them*, that I will *not turn away from them to do them good;* but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me. Yea, I will rejoice over them to do them good, and I will *plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart and with my whole soul.*"*

These words, though heard in the court of the prison of the besieged city of Jerusalem, sound not like a repealing of the everlasting covenant. The decree of Heaven, announced by the prophet, had indeed given that city to the Chaldeans, and doomed its inhabitants to exile and captivity. But even while the mounts of its enemies and destined captors were raised around Jerusalem, a valid purchase of a field in the adjoining country of Benjamin could be made, and the evidence of that purchase be deposited in an earthen vessel, to rest secure till the seed of Jacob should return to their own land. While of themselves they were as hopeless as helpless, it was given to the prophet, ere the van-

* Jer., xxxii.

quished captives were exiles from Judea, to know and to record, that the Lord would assuredly plant them in their own land again. The long-suffering patience of the Holy One of Israel, wearied with repenting, could not bear with their iniquities any more; and, in fulfilment of his own word, the last remnant of the seed of Jacob was to be plucked from the land promised to their fathers and to their seed forever. But, even at the very time when the Lord had brought a sword upon them to avenge the quarrel of his covenant, and they were about to be delivered into the hand of their enemy, and the land to be emptied of the children of Israel, as Moses and Joshua had forewarned them, yet the covenant itself was ratified by the Lord, *with his whole heart, and with his whole soul*, as "assuredly" as it had been, at the beginning, by the oath which He sware unto their fathers, ere ever Abraham or Jacob, at any time, departed out of the land of Canaan.

True indeed it is, that in the last siege of Jerusalem, when the judgments of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost, there was not a prophet to tell again that their expatriated race ever would return. No field in the whole land of Israel could be purchased then to be inherited in the next or any succeeding generation. Among all the sons of Jacob, scattered everywhere throughout the wide world, there has not for many past ages been a man who, like the sojourner Abraham, had a right to a cave in Canaan, and to the field and trees around it, nor to a parcel of ground such as Jacob gave to his son Joseph; nor is there an earthen vessel now containing the evidence of the purchase, or the chartered right to the possession of a single field in the country of Benjamim, or of any of the tribes of Israel, which has continued since Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, like that in which the prophet put the record of the egal purchase of the field in Anathoth. In the dark day of Judah's fall, *the sun had gone down over the prophets, and they had a vision.** And once in all their history, Israel left Canaan without a renewal of the covenant, and was driven out in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation, without one word from the Lord of comfort or of hope. Even irrespective of the termination of the limited and appointed time, "the end" of Jerusalem declared that the time was come in which the words of Daniel were fulfilled, in

* Mic., iii., 6.

the next and greatest destruction of the city: "And the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined: and He shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations He shall make it desolate, even until the consummation,"* &c. But prior to that time, according to the same prophetic word, Messiah the Prince was to come, and be cut off. And no prophet, possessing the Spirit only in measure, was needed to speak when Jesus had spoken. And He, of whom all the prophets testified, wept over Jerusalem, and thus bewailed its coming destruction: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth *till* ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!"† "Ye shall be led captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, *until* the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled."‡ These words imply that the time, however distant, would come at last, when Jerusalem shall no longer be trodden down of the Gentiles. Upon his cross was the inscription written, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, so that Jews and Gentiles alike might read, This is Jesus, the King of the Jews. After his resurrection He instructed his disciples in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and, as if seeking to know more than He had seen meet to reveal, immediately before his ascension they asked the Lord if He would *at that time restore again the kingdom of Israel*,§ without the expression of a doubt that He would some time restore it, but resting the question which they put upon the certainty of the fact, their faith in which the answer of Jesus did not shake, "It is not for you to know the *times* or the seasons which the Father hath in his own power."

When the armed band laid hold on Jesus, and when He commanded Peter to put up his sword into its sheath, He said, "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray unto my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve le-

* Dan., ix., 26, 27.
† Matt., xxiii., 37–39.
‡ Luke, xxi., 24.
§ Acts, i., 3, 6.

gions of angels? *But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be?*"* How could they have been fulfilled, notwithstanding the unbelief of the Jews, if the Messiah had not been cut off, if the righteous servant of the Lord had not been led as a lamb to the slaughter, and cut off out of the land of the living, and if He had not poured out his soul unto death, an offering for sin?† But the prophets testified beforehand not only the sufferings of the Messiah, but the glory that should follow. And how, notwithstanding the unbelief of Gentiles, shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, if the kingdom be not restored to Israel, if the covenant which God made with Abraham, and confirmed by an oath to Isaac, and for a law to Jacob, and for an everlasting covenant to Israel, to give to their seed the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, be not ratified in fact? Nay, how shall the oath which the Lord hath sworn be performed, if, contrary to his word, the thing that hath gone out of his lips be altered, or be not done?

Speaking after the manner of men, the apostle says, *If but a man's covenant be confirmed, no man annulleth or addeth thereunto.*‡ The covenant of God with Abraham as expressly bears that the promised land, as meted out and defined, was given to him and to his seed for an *everlasting possession*, as that all the families of the earth shall be blessed in him. And if a man's covenant cannot be annulled or bear abatement, how much less shall the Lord's? In covenants between man and man the parties may be perfectly sincere, and hold themselves absolutely bound to the completion of every word that is written in the bond; and yet things unforeseen and uncontrollable may render the deed abortive, and turn into utter worthlessness every guarantee that man could offer. And though an oath for confirmation be the most solemn and sacred of pledges, it may secure nothing, and its violation only prove that man is not guiltless before God. But Christians surely may hear and believe what Balaam spake by the Spirit of the Lord, when Balak asked him concerning Israel, "What hath the Lord spoken? And he said, Rise up, Balak, and hear; hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor: God is not a man, that He should lie; neither the son of man, that He should repent: hath He said, and shall He not do it? or hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good? He hath blessed, and I

* Matt., xxvi., 53, 54. † Isa., liii. ‡ Gal., iii., 15.

cannot reverse it."* Reassurance of the same eternal truth was given by Samuel, when he announced to Saul that his kingdom, the first in Israel, was rent from him and given to another: "The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for He is not a man that He should repent."† Neither can any unforeseen contingencies frustrate his purpose—for with him there are none—nor can any casue arise of potency enough to annul the covenant which He hath declared to be everlasting. When He lifted up his hand to the fathers concerning it, He saw, as He had decreed, the end from the beginning. And age after age He declared its perpetuity, even when it seemed to have ceased forever.

The Lord did confirm his covenant. A smoking furnace and a *burning lamp* were its visible confirmation on the day He made it with Abraham. He is not unmindful of his covenant, or of the sign He gave to the father of the faithful that his seed should inherit the land forever. The Lord thus speaks: For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as *a lamp that burneth*. And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory. Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken, neither shall thy land be any more termed Desolate; but thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah (*my delight is in her*), and thy land Beulah (*married*), for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be *married*,‡ &c. They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations, &c.§

So numerous, clear, and positive are the prophecies which declare the final restoration of the Israelites to the land of their inheritance, that the denial of it may well seem to be an impeachment of the truth of God, in regard to the very thing on which He hath staked his faithfulness. On that topic, with its collateral themes, of momentous import to the world, the author may enter in other pages than the present. But as to their final possession of the land, a single text, after the general view which has been given of the subject, more than a thousand arguments, may serve to show how assuredly the covenant with Abraham concerning the land shall yet be accomplished. "Thus saith the

* Num., xxiii., 17-19.
† 1 Sam., xv., 20
‡ Isa., lxii., 1-4, &c.
§ Ibid., lxi., 4.

Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all. And David my servant shall be king over them, and they shall have one shepherd; they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes, and do them. AND THEY SHALL DWELL IN THE LAND WHICH I GAVE UNTO JACOB MY SERVANT, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children, *forever;* and *my servant David shall be their prince forever.* Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them: it shall be AN EVERLASTING COVENANT with them: and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them *for evermore.*"*

The unbelief of the Israelites could not make void the promise of God, either when they first reached the borders of Canaan, or when the last tribe was rooted out of their land. Neither can it now. The Egyptians, seeing an unbelieving generation dying in the wilderness, might say that the Lord was not able to bring them into the land which He had promised unto them. But others than they have doubted and disbelieved; and objections against belief in the restoration of the kingdom to Israel have not been wanting in modern times. And now that Israel and Judah have for ages been expatriated, the conclusion may seem to be rational that the Lord hath cast them off, and abolished his covenant. All such reasonings, then, when fully *considered,* may finally be cast at once into the balance of the sanctuary, that their weight, if any, may be tried. And all such objections may be answered by the *word of the Lord* which came to Jeremiah, saying, "Considerest thou not what this people have spoken, saying, The two families which the Lord hath chosen, He hath even cast them off? thus they have despised my people, that they should be no more a nation before them. Thus saith the Lord, If my covenant be not with the day and night, and if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth, then will I cast away the seed of Jacob, and David my servant, so that I will not

* Ezek., xxxvii., 19-26.

take any of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for I will cause their captivity to return, and have mercy on them."*

Finally, as at the first, "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."† Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer the Lord of Hosts, *I am the first, and I am the last*, and besides me there is no God. And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed *the ancient people?* and the things that are coming, and shall come, let them show unto them. Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I the Lord, the first, and with the last; I am He.‡ David testified of his Son, and yet his Lord, Thou wilt not leave my soul in the grave, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.§ Thou hast ascended on high,‖ &c. To the prisoner in Patmos, who bare record for the testimony of Jesus Christ, that Holy One appeared after his ascension; and these were the first words, like those of a great trumpet, that burst on the apostle's ear: "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last."¶ He that is holy, He that is true, He that is the beginning and the end,** He that hath *the key of David*, He that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, thus uttered the first word of his Revelation, repeating what the prophet had testified of him as the King and the Redeemer of Israel, "I am the first and the last."

He is the first. The same apostle testifies of him, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." When the everlasting covenant had its origin, the WORD OF THE LORD came to Abraham, saying, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward. Ere Jacob's name was changed to Israel, there wrestled with him a man till the breaking of the day. And of that wrestling it is written, By his strength he had power with us; he had power with God, and prevailed; as it is also said, In Bethel he spake with us, even the Lord God of Hosts; the Lord is his memorial.†† When Israel first entered into Canaan, at the time when the manna ceased, and when they did first eat the fruit of the land, there stood

* Jer., xxxiii., 24-26. † Isa., viii., 20. ‡ Ibid., xli., 4; xliv., 6, 7.
§ Psalm xvi., 10. ‖ Ibid., lxviii., 18. ¶ Rev., i., 11.
** Rev., i., 11. †† Hos., xii., 5.

a man over against Joshua with a drawn sword in his hand, and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay; but as the captain of the Lord's host am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship.* When, in the fulness of time, the new and everlasting covenant was first brought in, the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.† But

He is the last as well as the first, the end no less than the beginning. When that covenant of mercy and of peace shall at last and forever be established with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah, the prophetic testimony, no longer shadowed by a veil on the mind of Gentile or of Jew, shall be read of all men, even as it is written: "Behold, the days come that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel, and to the house of Judah. In those days, and *at that time*, will I cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and He shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely; and this is the name wherewith He shall be called, the Lord (JEHOVAH) our Righteousness,‡ &c. I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds, and they shall be fruitful and increase. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is the name whereby He shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. Therefore, behold the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt. But the Lord liveth which brought up, and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land."§ In the same chapter, it is said by the prophet who testifies of these things, He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not my word like a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer, that breaketh the rock in pieces?

* Josh., v., 13, 14.
† John, i., 1.
‡ Jer., xxxiii., 14, 16.
§ Ibid., xxiii., 3–8.

Thus shall ye say every one to his neighbour, and every one to his brother, What hath the Lord spoken?*

Such an injunction has only to be regarded, that the perpetuity of the covenant of the Lord with Abraham concerning the land may be seen. But it is no less requisite in regard to our next inquiry than the present. And as the last proof which may here be given that the covenant still stands, it may be conclusive to hear what the Lord did speak concerning the inheritance of Israel, in anticipation of those days when it shall be apportioned in a manner altogether new among all the tribes, at a time when Israel was outcast in Assyria, and Judah captive in Babylon, and when they had far less liberty than they have now to return to their own land. "Thus saith the Lord God, This shall be the border whereby ye shall inherit the land, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. And ye shall inherit it one as well as another, concerning the which I lifted up my hand to give it unto your fathers."†

CHAPTER II.

THE BOUNDARIES, OR BORDERS OF THE LAND, GIVEN BY COVENANT TO THE ISRAELITES, AS DEFINED IN SCRIPTURE.

"A good land and a large."—*Exod.*, iii., 6.

SECTION I.

ABRAHAM, obedient to the word of the Lord, having left his country, his kindred, and his father's house, went from Haran to Canaan. Having entered it, not knowing whither he was to go, or where he was to take up even a temporary abode, he continued his journey, and passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. There "the Lord appeared unto him and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land."‡ The first act of Abraham was to build there an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him. From thence, no longer journeying onward, he removed unto a mountain on the east of Bethel; and there,

* Jer., xxiii., 26, 29, 37. † Ezek., xlvii., 13, 14. ‡ Gen., xii., 7.

as we read for the first time since he left his father's house, he "pitched his tent," having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east; and though he had no city or house to dwell in, "he built an altar unto the Lord, and called on the name of the Lord."* On the plain of Moreh, where his journey from his fatherland was stayed, the first promise was given him of another land unto his seed, even that to which he had come at the command of the Lord. That promise was renewed, after his return from Egypt, when he had come again unto "the place where his tent had been placed at the beginning, unto the place of the altar which he had made there at the first." Appearing to him there, not on the plain of Moreh, but upon a mountain east of Bethel, from whence the land, afterward called Holy, stretched on every side to the farthest extent of view, "the Lord said unto Abram, *Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it, and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee.*"† On so elevated a site, and in so pure an atmosphere as that of the land of Canaan, places far distant seem comparatively near, and a large territory is encircled within range of view. But nowhere, on any side, could the patriarch see a single spot, though the peak of a far-distant mountain, that formed not a portion of the land given by that word to him and to his seed forever. The Canaanite and the Perizzite then dwelt in the immediately circumjacent lands, but his eye could not reach to other regions, as yet to himself unknown: and he was commanded to walk through the land in its length and in its breadth, as his own by the promise of the Lord, whose voice he had obeyed in coming forth from Ur of the Chaldees, never to return. The Lord had promised to show him the land whither He would have him to go; and now He gave that land in all its extent to him and to his seed forever.

Again, still more specifically and extensively, and farther than the eye of man could anywhere reach or circumscribe, the already repeated promises were confirmed by a covenant, at the time when the Lord announced to the aged patriarch that He would give unto him a son for his heir, the heir—no less than the land—of *promise*. Abraham believed

* Gen., v., 8. † Ibid., xiii., 14, 15, 17.

in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness; and the land, no longer undefined, was marked out more clearly and largely by the word of the Lord, than before it had been by the eye of the houseless stranger to whom He gave it. With no stinted bounds assigned, it was a boon, rich and *large*, worthy of the Lord of the whole earth to give to Abraham his servant, and as such, his friend. "In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the River of Egypt unto the great river, the River Euphrates: the Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.*"* All the countries possessed by these various inhabitants were given unto the seed of Abraham; and while the places in which some of these nations dwelt might in after ages be unknown, the farthest borders of the inheritance were named, and every intermediate region was included in the land of promise. Abraham had not a child, nor a foot of ground. He believed in the Lord, and trusted in Him as his portion. Lest the King of Sodom should say that he had made Abraham rich, the faithful patriarch, appealing to the Most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, refused to take from a thread even to a shoe-latchet of anything that was his,† though he might have retained the spoils which he had retaken from the kings he had vanquished, and which were freely offered him. He continued a stranger and sojourner in the land, which in faith he already held as his own, and the inheritance of his seed forever, from *the River of Egypt to the River Euphrates.*

The covenant with Abraham had no terms but those of a free and a full gift: *Unto thee and to thy seed will I give this land, from the River of Egypt to the River Euphrates.* There is no restriction, nor condition, nor reservation whatever; nor is there any exclusion even of a foot-breadth of the wide-extended region that lies between these far-separated rivers. Such is the covenant of the Lord with Abraham concerning the *inheritance—the land which He lifted up his hand to give unto the fathers.*

The same covenant was renewed, alike unconditionally, in all its freeness and in all its fulness, *to Isaac and to Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise.* And uniformly

* Gen., xv., 18–23. † Ibid., xiv., 23.

too, when renewed with them, as when made with Abraham, the covenant of the Lord—comprehensive as that of the God of the whole earth, who had called Abraham in order to the final execution of his purposes of grace and mercy, not to one nation only, but to all—associated with the *gift* of the land in its fullest extent to their seed, *a blessing* in their seed to all *the families of the earth.*

Unto Isaac the Lord said, "Unto thee and unto thy seed will I give *all these countries;* and I will perform the oath which *I sware unto Abraham thy father:* and I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed *all these countries;* and *in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;* because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws."* Abraham believed and obeyed; and Isaac, though famine prevailed, sojourned in the land at the word of the Lord.

Again, when the covenant concerning the land was confirmed to Jacob for a law, and to Israel for an everlasting covenant, the assigned extent of the inheritance was large and undiminished; and the same blessing as before, and from the same source, was ultimately destined to be shed abroad throughout the world, till it should reach all the families of men from the seed of Jacob. The Lord said unto the father of all the tribes of Israel, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I *give it, and to thy seed;* and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and *thou shalt spread abroad to the west and to the east, and to the north and to the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*"† "The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land."‡

When the Lord first appeared unto Moses, with the declared purpose of fulfilling his promise, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, He said, "*I am come down to deliver my people, and to bring them up out of the land of Egypt, and to bring them unto a good land and a* LARGE."§ And before any part of their inheritance passed into the possession of the children of Israel, the limits of the land were farther defined. "By little and by little I will drive

* Gen., xxvi., 3–5.
† Ibid., xxviii., 1, 3, 14.
‡ Exod., xxxv., 12.
§ Ibid., iii., 8.

them out before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land. And I will *set thy bounds by the Red Sea*, even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river; for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand, and *thou shalt drive them out before thee*. Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods. *They shall not dwell in the land*, lest they make thee sin against me."* "If ye shall diligently keep all these commandments which I command you, to do them, to love the Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, and to cleave unto him, then will the Lord *drive out all those nations from before you, and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves. Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the River Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.* There shall no man be able to stand before you; for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as He hath said unto you. Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse,"† &c.

After the tribes of Reuben and of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, had received their inheritance on the east of the Jordan, the land of Canaan was assigned to the remaining nine tribes and a half. Its borders, or those of the Israelitish possessions which were then farther allocated, as specified in the thirty-fourth chapter of Numbers, do not include, as sometimes represented, the whole of the land of Israel, for they passed not the Jordan, instead of reaching to the Euphrates. The western, and partly the southern and northern borders of the land are defined, but not the eastern, except as marking the bounds between those who then had, and those of their brethren who had not received their inheritance. On the south, the land of Edom was also excluded, as "the brotherly covenant" was not to be broken. But on the north, there was no such nor any other cause of limitation, and they were thus left free to reach the utmost bounds assigned to Israel. What these on every side were, the irrepealable charter, as written in the Scriptures, alone can determine.

"*As for the western border, ye shall have the great sea for a border: this shall be your west border. This shall be your north border; from the great sea ye shall point out for you*

* Exod., xxiii., 30-33. † Deut., xi., 22-26.

Mount Hor (*hor-ha-hor*). *From Mount Hor ye shall point out your border unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad. And the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border. And ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shephan; and the coast shall go down from Shephan to Riblah, on the east side of Ain,*"* &c.

Again, when all these tribes had dwelt in Canaan till Joshua was old and stricken in years, the land that remained to be possessed was defined, according to the word of the Lord, who had promised it to their fathers; and the definitions of these territories show, as the Lord himself declared, that VERY MUCH LAND pertained by covenanted right to the seed of Jacob, besides that which they inherited in the days of Joshua.†

"This is the land that *yet remaineth:* all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, *from Sihor, which is before Egypt*, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines; the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; also the Avites. From the south, *all the land of the Canaanites*, and Mearah that is beside the Sidonians, unto Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites: and *all the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon* towards the sunrising, from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon, *unto the entering into Hamath;* all the inhabitants of the *hill-country, from Lebanon* unto Misrephoth-maim, and *all the Sidonians*, them will I drive out before the children of Israel; only divide thou it by lot unto the Israelites for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee."‡

But the borders of the land, which was finally and *forever* to be inherited by the twelve tribes of Israel, were as expressly and explicitly defined, after the last of them had been plucked from off it, and while Judah was captive in Babylon, and Ephraim in Assyria, as they were thus marked out by the word of the Lord to Joshua, when all the seed of Jacob dwelt in Canaan; and when the large portion that remained was divided among them by lot, as if they had held it in actual possession, while yet faithful to the covenant of their God, "the land was subdued before them," Moses, a wanderer in the wilderness, and Ezekiel, an exile

* Numb., xxxiv., 6-11. † Josh., xiii., 1. ‡ Ibid., 2-6.

in Chaldea, were alike privileged to record the *sure word* of a covenant-keeping God, by which the borders of the inheritance are defined, and the perpetuity of the covenant declared; whether, in the one case, its truth had, for the first time, to be tried, or in the other, it seemed to have ceased forever, when all the tribes of Israel were exiled bondsmen, in countries far distant from Jerusalem and Samaria.

"Thus saith the Lord God, This shall be the border whereby ye shall inherit the land according to the twelve tribes of Israel: Joseph shall have two portions. And ye shall inherit it one as well as another; *concerning the which I lifted up my hand to give it unto your fathers:* and this land shall fall to you for inheritance. And this shall be the border of the land towards the *north side*, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad; Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath; Hazar-hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran. And the border from the sea shall be Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus, and the north northward, and the border of Hamath. And this is the *north side*. And the east side ye shall measure from Hauran, and from Damascus, and from Gilead, and from the land of Israel by Jordan, *from the border unto the east sea*. And this is the *east side*. And the south side southward, from Tamar to the waters of strife in Kadesh, the river to the great sea. And this is the *south side* southward. The west side also shall be the great sea *from the border, till a man come over against Hamath*. This is the *west side*. So shall ye divide this land according to the tribes of Israel. Now these are the names of the tribes. From the *north end* to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus *northward*, to the coast of Hamath (for these are his sides east and west), a portion for Dan. And by the border of Dan, from the east side unto the west side, a portion for Asher,"* &c.

The territory, secured by such charters to Israel, is not undefined, and cannot be forever doubtful. Its peculiar position, in relation to the other kingdoms of the world, as well as its peculiar features, and qualities, or capabilities, as anciently exemplified, or yet more fully to be developed, require to be separately considered; but these scriptural

* Ezek., xlvii., 13-23; xlviii., 1.

records at once attest that its bounds are ample, and that it is a *large*, as it will also be shown in the seqnel that it is a *goodly* land. The terms of the covenant, were it only man's, are not to be tampered with, nor is their plain significancy to be at all abated. That of the Lord is not to be explained away in any manner that does not give a full meaning to every word of promise it contains. It is not needful, and it is not meet to qualify the words of the Holy One of Israel, whose promises to the fathers cannot fail. His word has its vindication in itself—its infallible certainty in his own Almighty power. He who set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel, at the time when He divided among the nations their inheritance, and separated the sons of Adam, or the whole race of man, fixed such borders of the inheritance of Israel as best befit an everlasting possession, and such as, though questioned or displaced in ages past, shall assuredly be known of all men when the covenant shall be fulfilled, and the whole earth shall be filled with his glory.

From the new and final division among all the tribes of Israel, as described by Ezekiel, whereby they shall inherit the land, *concerning the which the Lord lifted up his hand to give it unto their fathers*, it is perfectly manifest, as specified in every instance, that the borders of each tribe shall be *from the east side unto the west side*, or in parallel lines stretching throughout the whole "breadth of Immanuel's land." And thus—in respect to the extreme boundaries, comprehending them all—from the River of Egypt to the River Euphrates, setting the bounds by the Red Sea on *the south*, and from the River Euphrates to the great sea, or the Mediterranean, on *the north*, including *all Lebanon*, and all the hill-country to the entrance into Hamath with the Euphrates on *the east*, from the border to the east sea, and on *the west*, from the border to the River of Egypt, and from thence along the Mediterranean coast to the entrance into Hamath, lines have been drawn and borders have been set, which, if looked at with a single eye, might place the land in visible perspective before us, as the Lord *espied* it for the people whom He created for his glory, and to whom He gave it by an everlasting covenant, which He will yet *remember*.

Though thus definitely marked, "the promised land" has often been measured by the far narrower bounds which Is-

rael of old actually possessed. Error is congenial to error, as truth to truth. While the perpetuity of the covenant concerning the land has been disregarded, the extent of the inheritance has shrivelled into mean dimensions. As if the kingdom were never to be restored to Israel, and the perpetual covenant had ceased forever, many critics and commentators, in dealing with the word that abideth forever, have set themselves to a merely antiquarian task, and have sought rather to fix the borders of the promised land by the limited region which the Israelites occupied of old, than to measure the guarantied inheritance itself by the *borders* which the Lord of the whole earth assigned it. The borders, as prescribed, can alone rightfully determine what the extent of the land is which they bound and comprehend. They alone fix what the *everlasting possession* shall be. But they are not to be drawn from their true stations and transported from them, in order to form an imaginary boundary around a temporary and partial possession, which in reality never reached them. The *borders* must determine the promised land, and not the land, as actually possessed, the borders. The territory solely possessed as their own, by a people faithless to their God, who broke the covenant into which they had entered with Him, does not necessarily form the measure of the whole inheritance promised to their fathers, and which shall be finally bestowed upon their faithful offspring, any more than the *short time*, according to the plaint of Isaiah, during which they held that portion of it as their own, limited the term of the *everlasting covenant* of unchangeable Jehovah. The time has not come, and never shall, till the sun and moon be no more, when they shall cease to be a people, and their name and nation fail before the Lord. More numerous than they were when they were rooted out of their father's land, they are still looking in millions to their return. And the sole question here is, not What were the limits of the land anciently occupied by their race? but What is the land, as defined in the Word of God, in its length and in its breadth, concerning which the Lord lifted up his hand to their fathers, as decreed from the beginning, and as it shall *yet fall to the twelve tribes of Israel for their inheritance?*

The investigation is important, not as limited merely to the illustration of the ancient, though scriptural, history of a rebellious race—for such, save only by a temporary and

often partial suspense, they were—but as pertaining to the immutability of the covenant, and of the words of promise it contains, by which the extent of Israel's inheritance—the gift of God to the patriarchs and to their seed—is defined; and as thereby pertaining, too, to the future history of the world, and to the high destiny of Israel, when the covenant shall, in its full extent, be realized at last, and the large and goodly land, as the Lord himself has set its bounds, shall, according to his *everlasting covenant*, be their *everlasting possession*.

Though often held to be identical, it is abundantly plain that the land *possessed* by the Israelites in ancient times formed but a portion of the promised inheritance. The covenant was made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as we have seen, on absolutely unconditional and unrestricted terms. The promises were Yea and Amen. The oath was essentially irrevocable. The arm of the Almighty would finally effectuate all that his hand had been lifted up to avouch to the believing patriarchs. But though He will never draw back his covenant, it must be ever known as that of a holy, as of a faithful God. Before his people entered into Canaan, nay, before they had reached either of the northern points of the Red Sea, by which the bounds of their inheritance were set—though they had passed that sea itself by a miracle as on dry ground—the law was given in thunder, and in lightning, and in fire from Sinai. It was added by reason of transgression long after the promise had been made. The condition of obedience was annexed to the covenant made with the Israelites; and on *that* depended not only the extent of the inheritance they would occupy, but, save for the forbearance and long-suffering patience of their God, the possession of any part of it, even for a single day. If righteousness had come by the law to sinful man, then the borders of Israel of old might have been identical with the bounds of their inheritance as set down in the covenant. Or if a priesthood, with all its paraphernalia, or, as the Gospel speaks, *beggarly elements*, could have drawn from bulls and goats blood efficacious for the atonement of sin, the transgressors of Israel might have broken the covenant and have kept the land. But explicit truths of the Old Testament, as well as fundamental doctrines of the New, are overlooked in maintaining that the covenant, even as respects the land, was fulfilled in all its extent to

Israel of old. The law, broken and imperfectly obeyed, makes *nothing* perfect. And under it Israel entered into Canaan; under it their enemies, though idolaters, were never driven out wholly before them; under it even the proverbial extremities or borders of all *Israel* were not the Red Sea, nor the entrance into Hamath, nor yet the River of Egypt and the Euphrates, but Dan and Beersheba, with comparatively a small space between them; under it the ten tribes were carried captives into Assyria, and Judah and Benjamin into Babylon; under it, though not forever, the tabernacle and the throne of David fell; and trusting in it, and not submitting to the righteousness that is of faith, the tribe of Judah, which remained unbroken and retained its lawgivers till Shiloh came, was cut off; Jerusalem was laid even with the ground, and the Jews dispersed throughout all countries under heaven. The law was broken; the condition of the Mosaic covenant was not kept; and the land, in its full extent, was never possessed by a faithless people.

Not only was the retention of the land, or the possession of any part of it, expressly conditional, on the first entrance of the Israelites into their inheritance, but they were from the first as expressly precluded from occupying as their own the smallest portion of the territories of the Edomites, Moabites, or Ammonites, which spread over an ample space. Yet all these were clearly included within the bounds of the everlasting inheritance of Israel. The land of Ammon lay on the opposite side of the valley of Jordan, straight over against the mountain *east* of Bethel, on which Abraham stood, when commanded by the Lord to look *eastward*, as well as in every other direction, on the land which He gave to him and to his seed forever. The mountains of Moab were among the most conspicuous in his view. And these regions, together with Mount Seir, unquestionably lay to the north of the Red Sea, the west of the Euphrates, and the east of the River of Egypt, and were thus contained within the terms of the covenant. But, though the iniquity of the Amorites was then full, the time was not come when the Moabites and Ammonites, the descendants of Lot, the brother's son of Abraham, or the Edomites, descended of Isaac, were to be dispossessed of their inheritance, and "the brotherly covenant" was not to be broken by the children of Israel. It is as clear that the countries in which

they dwelt were excluded from the ancient land of Israel, of which, though afterward subjugated, they did not form a part, as that they were comprehended within the borders specified in the Abrahamic covenant, and that they are destined to form part of the inheritance of the Israelites on their final restoration.

The reader will at once perceive how different is the scriptural record concerning them respectively, in these different circumstances and times.

"The Lord spake unto Moses, Command the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren, the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir. . . . Meddle not with them; for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot-breadth, because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.* . . . Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of their land for a possession, because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.† . . . And when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them; for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession, because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession."‡

But when Israel had compassed Edom, without possessing of it a foot-breadth, and lay encamped in the plains of Moab, and Balaam was brought forth by a heathen king to curse Israel, even he was constrained to take up a testimony for the far-distant times when there should be no restraints, as there then were, on the full completion of the covenant. "I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite *the corners of Moab* and destroy all the children of Sheth. Edom shall be a possession; Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies; and Israel shall do valiantly."§

The prophets of Israel speak in terms alike consonant with the covenant with Jacob, in looking to that day when the root of Jesse shall stand for an ensign of the people of Israel.

"He shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four quarters of the earth. They shall spoil them of the east together:

* Deut., ii., 2-5. † Ibid., 9. ‡ Ibid., 19. § Num., xxiv., 17, 18.

they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon shall obey them,"* &c. "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, &c. That they may *possess the remnant of Edom*, and of all the heathen, that are called by my name, saith the Lord, who doth this. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord."† "And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and He will save us. For in this mountain shall the hand of the Lord rest, and Moab shall be trodden down under him, even as straw is trodden down for the dunghill. And He shall spread forth his hands in the midst of them, as he that swimmeth spreadeth forth his hands to swim,"‡ &c. "I will bring again the captivity of Moab in the latter day, saith the Lord."§ "I will bring again the captivity of the children of Ammon, saith the Lord."‖ "*The remnant of my people shall possess them.*"¶ The house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Esau for stubble; and they of the south shall possess the mount of Esau.**

It is not, therefore, a theme for argumentation, but a Scriptural truth to be believed, that, were it in this single instance alone, the borders of ancient Israel are not those of the covenanted heritage of Jacob. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, excluded in the one case, are included in the other. Yet all these, though a hundred and fifty miles intervened between their extreme boundaries, were but a small part of that large portion of the promised inheritance which never ranked of old in the *land* of Israel.

The condition of the covenant was not fulfilled; and besides the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, who had a claim on the forbearance of Israel, more numerous enemies, who had none, were never driven out before them, and their lands were never left for the occupancy of the transgressors of God's holy law.

Once, indeed, we read of a single, or, at most, a second generation that held undisturbed and unchallenged possession of the land, which had everywhere been subdued before them. *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and which had*

* Isa., xi., 10, 14. † Amos, ix., 11, 12, 15. ‡ Isa., xxv., 9–11.
§ Jer., xlviii., 47. ‖ Ibid., xlix., 6. ¶ Zeph., ii., 9.
** Obad., 18, 19.

*known all the works of the Lord that He had done for Israel.** They had known the works of the Lord, and they believed; and they were the children of *faithful* Abraham. And to them the dying Joshua could thus make his last appeal: "Behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts, and in all your souls, that not one thing hath failed of all the good things which the Lord your God spake concerning you; all are come to pass unto you, and not one thing hath failed thereof."† There was no restriction on them as to the land, save that which was reserved by a brotherly covenant. The tribes of Reuben and Gad might have fed their flocks in peace, had their number permitted, on the banks of the Jordan on one side, and of the Euphrates on the other. Neither had the rest of the tribes reached their bounds. Their enemies, wherever they went, had been driven out before them; they had entered into the possession of all that they had sought to occupy—of a land wherein they did eat bread without scarceness, and lacked not anything in it. The Lord was not slack concerning his promise, which had been fulfilled unto the uttermost; and instead of there being any limit to their land, till its appointed borders should be reached, they had been already charged by Joshua with being *slack to go to possess the land which the Lord their God had given them.*‡ They were, indeed, to drive out their enemies, and to possess the land by little and little, lest the wild beasts should multiply among them. But free as it then was for their possession, the slackness was on their part alone; for God was not then, as He shall not be at the last, *slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness.*§ And large regions within the range of Israel's inheritance which yet remained to be possessed, were allocated amomg them, as if they had been actually held in free tenure by a people faithful to their God. Yet they gave not heed to the charge and command of Joshua, to go in and possess the land that remained; and, because of a broken law, no other generation could, under the covenant which the Lord made with their fathers when He brought them out of Egypt.

In the same breath with which the dying Joshua set forth the unfailing goodness of their God towards them, and his faithfulness in his covenant, he warned them to take good

* Josh., xxiv., 31.
† Ibid., xxi., 45; xxiii., 14.
‡ Ibid., xviii., 3.
§ 2 Peter, iii., 9.

heed unto themselves that they loved the Lord their God, else, as he said, "If ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, know for a certainty that the Lord your God will no more drive out *any of these nations from before you;* but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the Lord your God hath given you. Therefore it shall come to pass, that as all good things are come upon you which the Lord your God promised you, so shall the Lord bring upon you all evil things, until He have destroyed you from off this good land which the Lord your God hath given you."*

Whether Israel under the law should keep or hold in full possession, even for once, all the land, soon ceased to be doubtful. And the fact is most clear, that except for a small strip along the seashore, from Ascalon to Acre, the land *peopled* wholly by Israelites nowhere reached near to any of the borders which God in his bounty had assigned them, concerning which it is not yet to be forgotten, as often repeated in Scripture, that the Lord has lifted up his hand.

Even the next generation of the children of Israel knew not the Lord as their fathers had done, but did evil in his sight, and served Baal and Ashtaroth. The Lord, because of their iniquities, instead of subduing any more of the land before them, sold them into the hands of their enemies round about; and his hand was against them for evil, as He had sworn unto them. But they continued to multiply transgressions before him, and corrupted their ways in following other gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them.† They ceased not from their evil doings, nor from their stubborn way; so that the second chapter of Scripture, after that which records the death of Joshua, is not closed till we read that "*the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel; and he said,* BECAUSE THIS PEOPLE HATH TRANSGRESSED MY COVENANT WHICH I COMMANDED THEIR FATHERS, AND HAVE NOT HEARKENED UNTO MY VOICE, I ALSO WILL NOT HENCEFORTH DRIVE OUT ANY FROM BEFORE THEM OF THE NATIONS WHICH JOSHUA LEFT WHEN HE DIED; *that through them I may prove Israel, whether they will keep the way of the Lord to walk therein, as their fathers did keep it, or not. Therefore the Lord left those nations, without driving them*

* Josh., xxiii., 11-15. † Judges, ii., 11-14.

out hastily; neither delivered He them into the hand of Joshua."*

Transgressions were multiplied in Israel; false gods were followed and served; and when the people did not cease from their evil doings and from their stubborn way, the promised blessings ceased; the threatened curses took effect; the progress of the Israelites in the land of promise was arrested; however much of it remained to be possessed, it was to continue unoccupied by them; and however many enemies remained within the proper borders of a faithful people, a faithless race were not to dispossess any of them, but they were left by the Lord for the trial and the punishment of those, before whom, if faithful, they would have fled with terror. Under the curse of a broken covenant, that soon pressed heavily on Israel, and from which it never has recovered, the sentence came forth, that though finally they themselves should all be rooted out of every part of it, the Lord would *no more* drive out any of those nations before them, whose land previously they had only to "go in and possess."

It is not on any human authority, nor even on any direct inference from Scripture, but on a word which, when considered, carries conviction to every believing mind—even the word of the Lord—that we plainly learn that the limited region occupied by Israel in the last days of Joshua, as thus also in after ages, was very far from reaching the borders of the *large* inheritance which He had originally marked out, and has still in reserve for Israel.

"Now Joshua was old and stricken in years, and the Lord said unto him, Thou art old and stricken in years, and *there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.* All the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri; and from the south, all the land of the Canaanites—all the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon, from Baal-gad to the entering into Hamath; all the inhabitants of the hill-country, from Lebanon, and all the Sidonians,"† &c. These were numbered among the nations which were greater and mightier than the Israelites; and the countries which they possessed formed, as will afterward be seen, extensive regions. But the undoubted facts that *very much* land then remained to be possessed, and that the Lord would not drive out any of these nations from before them, which Joshua left when he

* Judges, ii., 20-23. † Joshua, xiii., 1, &c. See above, p. 65.

died, might lead the believer to look for the borders of the covenanted inheritance far beyond the bounds that Israel occupied of old, rather than to limit it to them.

It is, therefore, rather to be unmindful of the covenant itself, than to bear it in remembrance, to deny their proper place, as their names and the definition of their locality bear, to the prescribed *borders*, because a people whom their iniquities, according to the word of the Lord, excluded from the actual possession of them, could not rank them as their own. Yet all in general that is said in works on Scripture geography, of divers of these places, as Berothah, Hazar-enan, Hethlon, &c., is, that they were towns on the northern border of Israel. The River of Egypt, in order to bring it nearer to Judea, has been placed in the land of Philistia; the *entrance into Hamath* to the *south* both of Lebanon and Sidon; and Emath itself, where no city of the name, so far as can be known, ever stood, has been placed, as in the map of Cellarius, close by Dan, as being on the northern border of Israel; and not a few Christian writers of high name have discarded as incredible the covenanted borders of Israel, as believed in by the Jews themselves, the heirs of the covenant, because these assign to the true heritage of Jacob ampler borders than those which hemmed in their faithless ancestors.

In entering more fully on a theme which thus stands so obviously in need of elucidation, some degree of minute, or even tedious detail, may not be altogether inexcusable. The "goodly" land of Israel has been blasphemed or spoken against; and its presumed diminutive size has also given rise to the taunting blasphemy, that "the God of Israel was a little god, because he gave to his people but a little land." A land full of judgments might put scoffers to silence. But it is right that falsehood should be confronted and confuted by truth, and that the word of God should be vindicated, as it declares that the land given by covenant to Israel is both *large* and good, especially where Christian writers have unwittingly given a seeming sanction to the impious sarcasm. More than at other times, or than in past ages, the subject seems now to demand investigation, and may well excite attention, when the possession of Syria by one people or another is a question among others than the chief potentates of Europe, and when many Christians are thinking, who thought it not before, that the land

of Israel shall yet be Israel's own. Among the Gentiles, eyes keen and quicksighted as the wolf's are looking on the various provinces of the Turkish Empire; and among those who are "not numbered among the nations," eyes beaming like the exile's as he looks towards his home, while the days of his expatriation and imprisonment are in his fond hope expiring, are looking wistfully to the promised inheritance of Jacob's seed. Alas! that they should yet stream anew with bitter tears, even though they were returned to it again, till they *look on him whom they have pierced*, and tears of penitence, and faith, and love be intermingled, and a broken law be no longer a barrier to the completion of all the covenanted blessings still in store for *faithful* Israel. Yet, in blissful anticipation of that time, the word of the Lord, as written *for a time to come*, and never yet fully realized, may guide our way to the various bounds He has set, irremovable by man, around the decreed "heritage of Jacob."

If we look to the kingdom of Israel when it attained to its highest glory in ancient times, in the days of David and Solomon, the fact presents itself to view, that the *land of Israel*, as *peopled* by the seed of Jacob, was far from being commensurate with the promised inheritance, within the bounds of which other *nations* still remained. The very conquests of David give proof how numerous and powerful these were. But the Philistines, and other enemies of Israel, held possession of their own territories, which were expressly, and by name, included in the covenant, as given by the Lord to Israel. Two or three verses need but to be read, to prove beyond contradiction—except Scripture be contradicted—that the conditional promises of the covenant made with the Israelites failed because of their unfaithfulness, and that at no time, not even when Solomon's kingdom was in its highest glory, were these promises completed. "I will send an angel before thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite,"* &c. "Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite,"† &c. "There shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them."‡ Yet of these very nations we read again, "All the people that were left

* Exod., xxxiii., 2. † Ibid., xxxiv., 11. ‡ Deut., vii., 24

of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, their children that were left after them in the land, *whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy*, upon these did Solomon levy a tribute."*

Solomon's reign, compared to others, was peaceful. "Judah and Israel dwelt safely from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon."† But these were still the limits of the land, within which they dwelt as their own. The sceptre was swayed from the throne in Jerusalem over all Israel only during these two reigns. But a king did not reign in righteousness then. David transgressed, and brought a pestilence on the land. He sinned yet more, and for a season was a fugitive from his capital. Solomon's heart was turned from the God of Israel, and the Lord was angry with him. He raised up adversaries to Solomon—Hadad the Edomite, and Rezon, who reigned in Damascus, and was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon. And even Jeroboam, Solomon's servant, lifted up his hand against the king; and to him the kingdom of Israel was given, when, according to the word of the Lord, it was rent out of the hand of Solomon's son.‡

But the law was the *shadow* of good things to come, though not the very substance of the things.§ And the kingdom of Israel in its ancient glory was a shadow of the kingdom yet to be restored to Israel, when, as assuredly as the covenant with the Israelites was broken, and its curses came upon them, the covenant with Abraham shall be fulfilled, and its blessings, in lighting upon Israel at last, shall be spread throughout the world. Though the nations which remained within the bounds of Israel's promised inheritance were never driven beyond them, nor utterly destroyed by the Israelites, yet the shadow of the kingdom of Israel, as that kingdom shall be finally restored, reached to the utmost borders of the land from the high throne of the house of David, which was set up in Jerusalem. "Glorious things" are written of that city which comport not at all with any more straitened borders than the God of Jerusalem has assigned. When that throne was first established, which the Lord, according to his covenant with David, shall build up to all generations, and when the ark of the

* 1 Kings, ix., 20, 21. † Ibid., iv., 25.
‡ Ibid., xi., 9, 12, 14, 23, 26. § Heb., x., 1.

covenant was set up in Jerusalem, David smote the Philistines and subdued them ;* he smote the Moabites, and they became David's servants; he smote also Hadad-ezer, the son of Rehob, king of Zobah, *as he went to recover his border at the River Euphrates.*† He smote the Syrians, and he put garrisons in Syria of Damascus ; he took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadad-ezer, and brought them to Jerusalem, and from Betah and from *Berothai*, cities of Hadad-ezer, King David took exceeding much brass.‡ Toi, king of *Hamath*, sent his son to salute him and to bless him, and he brought with him vessels of silver, and gold, and brass. These and the spoils of Syria and of Moab, of Ammon, of the Philistines, of Amalek, and of the King of Zobah, he dedicated to the Lord.§ Throughout all Edom he put garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants.‖ When the various nations were subdued, or owned his supremacy, the scriptural record immediately after bears, "*So* David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice in all his dominion." Other nations than the seed of Jacob dwelt within his borders. Though very much land remained to be possessed as in the days of Joshua, countries which Israel did not fully possess or people, and from which their enemies were never driven out, owned the supreme sovereignty of David, and did him homage. And though the Euphrates watered not the *land of* Israel, but the *kingdom of Hadad-ezer*, that great river was the *border* of David's *dominion*.

So was it also with Solomon. The twelve tribes united under him were but one people in the midst of many. His kingdom, like that of his father David, extended far beyond the land actually occupied and possessed by the Israelites ; and he exercised a nominal or real sovereignty over all the regions which the Lord had given to the seed of Jacob. Solomon *reigned over all the kings from the Euphrates unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt ;* they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life. He had dominion over all the region on this side the River Euphrates, from Tipzah unto Azzah, over *all the kings on this side of the river.*¶ Solomon went to *Hamath-Zobah*

* 2 Sam., v., 17–25 ; viii., 1. 1 Chron., xviii., 1.
† 2 Sam., viii., 2, 3. 1 Chron., xviii., 3.
‡ 2 Sam., viii., 5–8. 1 Chron., xviii., 5–8.
§ 2 Sam., viii., 11. 1 Chron., xviii., 9–13.
‖ 2 Sam., viii., 14. 1 Chron., xviii., 13.
¶ 1 Kings, iv., 21–24. 2 Chron., ix., 26.

and prevailed against it. And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and Hamath, and all the store-cities which he built in Hamath, and in Lebanon, and *throughout all the land of his dominion.** He made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the *Red Sea*, in the land of Edom.† And he laid a tribute of bond-service upon the children of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were left in the land, whom, as emphatically stated, the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy.‡

But neither in the reign of David nor Solomon were their enemies *driven out* before the children of Israel, whose proper bounds were still the same as at the time of the death of Joshua. For when the fullest limits recorded in scriptural history were assigned to the kingdom over which these monarchs reigned, it is added, as descriptive even of the farther glory of Solomon's reign, "*and Judah and Israel* dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, *from Dan even to Beersheba*, all the days of Solomon."§

The extent of the covenanted inheritance may therefore be seen, not in the *land of Israel* of old, but in the *dominion* of Solomon, including all the lands of tributary kings, from the land of Hamath, its king in the number, to the shores of the Red Sea, and from the border of Egypt to the Euphrates, including *all the kings* on the west side of that river. But the borders of Judah and Israel, viz., Dan and Beersheba, within which the children of Israel *dwelt* in safety, were *not* the borders of Solomon's dominion, and no more are they the borders of Israel's decreed and destined inheritance. The terms of the Abrahamic covenant rise far higher than the record of Solomon's reign. In them there is no word of nations that should not be driven out, nor of any other *kingdom* than that of Israel alone, from the River of Egypt to the River Euphrates. But the sovereignty which he exercised over all the kingdoms of his dominion, reaching to the heaven-appointed *borders*, give a practical illustration of the extent of the inheritance of Israel, whenever, in the completion of the covenant, *all these countries* shall be the land of their *possession*. David and Solomon acknowledged no other "borders" than the border of Egypt, the Euphrates, the Red Sea, and Hamath: and none who

* 2 Chron., viii., 3–6. † 1 Kings, ix., 26. 2 Chron., viii., 17.
‡ 1 Kings, ix., 21. 2 Chron., viii., 7, 8. § 1 Kings, iv., 25.

look as they did to the covenant of the Lord with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, can acknowledge limits more circumscribed. And the spirit of faith breaks through the bonds with which a false theory concerning the limits of Israel has fettered inquiry, and gives full freedom to read the words as they are written, and to seek the "borders" where they are to be found, in the utmost bounds of Solomon's *dominion*.

At no other time did the Israelites so fully possess their promised inheritance as in the days of Solomon. After his death the glory of Israel was greatly diminished, and the kingdom was rent in twain. The seed of Jacob, a divided and often mutually conflicting people, did cleave to the remnant of the nations that were left around them, and forsook the Lord God of their fathers. Ephraim vexed Judah, and Judah Ephraim. The tide of conquest, renewed by David, was turned back, and never rose so high again. The enemies of Israel prevailed. The inheritance which the Lord had given them, they lost. Ephraim was given up to his idols, and fell in his iniquity. Ten tribes were destroyed from off the land of Israel, and their place was occupied by aliens from their commonwealth. Judah never regained what Ephraim had lost. And for the perfect completion of the covenant of God with their fathers, in respect to the extent as well as the perpetuity of the promised inheritance, we must look to the days when "Judah and Ephraim shall be one in the hands of the Lord," and when, according to the *new division* of the land, as defined by Ezekiel, *the twelve tribes of Israel, one as well as another, shall inherit the land,* from the River of Egypt to the great River Euphrates*

SECTION II.

THE RIVER OF EGYPT.

The River of Egypt, from which to the Euphrates the inheritance of Israel extends, might at once and universally, without an explanatory word, be identified with the Nile, which is emphatically and exclusively, as known to all the world, *the River of Egypt*. But because the Holy Land, as possessed by the Israelites in ancient times, never reached to Egypt, and the Nile never form-

* Ezek., xlvii., 13, 14,

ed its boundary, the brook Besor, in the land of Philistia, a mere streamlet compared to the Nile, and sometimes nearly, if not altogether dry in summer, without being transported to its borders, has been exalted into *the River of Egypt*. If the terms of the covenant be not altogether disregarded, such an opinion is unworthy of confutation, as a brook, were it even worthy of being the boundary of a large kingdom, cannot, while flowing only in one country, be the river of another which it never reaches.

The translation of the term *Nahal Mitzraim* (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם) in a *single* instance in the Septuagint, into Rhinocorura (Ρινοκορουρος), seemed to give warrant for the opinion to which it gave rise, that a river or stream near the town of that name was the *River of Egypt*. This opinion was ably controverted and refuted by Dr. Shaw, who states that, "in geographical criticism, little stress can be laid on the authority of the Septuagint version, where the phrase so frequently, as he shows, varies from the original, and where so many different interpretations are put upon one and the same thing."*

Pelusium, situated on the banks of the eastern branch of the Nile, formed the extreme boundary of Egypt on the coast of the Mediterranean, and the region between it and the Red Sea pertained, as Strabo relates, not to Egypt, but to Arabia.† But, as the covenant concerning the land has evidently respect to the latter days, even as the inheritance is declared to be an everlasting possession, the fatal objection against Rhinocorura is that there is no stream, or river, or torrent there, that could in any way form as a *river* the boundary of a kingdom. Amid sandy hills all around, there is indeed something like the form of a valley close upon the sea, wide enough for a large river, but, in the summer at least, as the writer witnessed in passing it, there was no stream, or even streamlet, or drop of water there; and the ground, nearly on the level with the seashore, was as dry as the parched wilderness. The River of Egypt, as a border of the large dominion forming the everlasting inheritance of Israel, is not surely such as cannot be seen. The country around Rhinocorura is as it was in the days of

* Shaw's Travels, Supplement, p. 23, 24. See APPENDIX I.
† Strabo, cap. 17, tom. ii., p. 1138, ed. Falcon.

Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, and Strabo, as their authorities are adduced on this very point by Dr. Shaw, a *barren country* deprived of the necessaries of life; without the walls there are several salt-pits; within, the wells yield only a bitter, corrupted water. Herodotus confirms this account by telling us that in those deserts there was a dreadful want of water to the distance of three days' journey from Mount Casius, bordering on Egypt, on the Sirbonic Lake. Strabo relates that the whole country between Gaza and the Sirbonic Lake was barren or sandy. There was no "River of Egypt" there either in ancient or modern times. The writer has not been able to discover any mention of it as a stream or streamlet (though such in winter there possibly may be) by any modern or ancient author, though it has been so placed in many maps.

The River of Egypt is doubtless the *Nile*, to which the *Nahal* Mitzraim of the Hebrews seems to have given its name. From it, in the estimation of the learned Bochart, that name by which the River of Egypt is universally known, was "most certainly derived."* For *Nahal* the Jewish interpreters read the Nile.

The River of Egypt bears, in parallel passages of Scripture, the name of *Sihor*, which is plainly identified with the Nile. Like other names given to that river by various nations, who, according to Dr. Hales and many other authors, have translated it into their own languages, it literally signifies "black." These are too numerous to owe their origin to any other than a common cause, which gave in them all its significancy to each name of the selfsame river. According to Pliny, Solinus, and Dionysius, the Nile was called *Siris*, "its Ethiopic name derived from *Sihor* or *Sihr*." The words *Melas* and *Melo*, like the Hebrew Sihor, also literally signifying "black," were among the Greeks names of the Nile. The Egyptian name of the river, according to Diodorus, was *Okeames*, from *Okema*, or *Okem*, signifying "black," whence also it was styled by the *Hindus* "*Cali*," all names of the same import.†

* Nahal torrens pro Nilo accipitur, ut in scriptura passim. Num., xxxiv., 5, pro Hebræo Nahal, נחל, legitur Nilus נילוס in Jonathane et Jerosolymitano interprete, atque hinc Nili nominis origo certissima est.—*Bochart*, iii., 764.

† Shaw's Trav., ibid., p. 31. Hales's Chronology, vol. i., p. 413, 414.

Thus the name given in Scripture to the bounding river of Israel's inheritance on the side of Egypt is similar in sound and in significancy to *Sihr*, the Ethiopian name of the Nile, and is precisely of the same import with the names which it bears in other languages. The name is specially appropriate to the Nile, loaded as it is with the dark loam of Abyssinia and Upper Egypt, and flowing for hundreds of miles through its own dark deposites, with which, as in the days of Virgil and in earlier times, it fertilizes the land in annual overflow.

Viridem Egyptum *nigra* fœcundat arena.

Its dark and muddy waters, though sweet to the taste, need first to be filtered, and leave a large dark sediment. The name of Sihor is most appropriate to the Nile; but, having passed by both, the writer may remark, that it would but ill apply to a river of Rhinocorura, were there a river there; for the sandy hills around it, and boundless sandy plains joining the desert, might so filter any stream, or purify even the Nile itself, as to rob it of all title to this scriptural name.

The Nile, forming emphatically, and, it may well be said, exclusively, "*the River of Egypt*"—the name by which it is now universally known being most certainly, on high authority, derived from the very word which is translated in our own version the river or stream of Egypt—the eastern branch of the Nile having been the boundary of that country, according to Strabo, who is second, in accuracy at least, to none of the ancient geographers, and its dark waters having given it the name which it bears in Scripture, in exact analogy to other appellations by which it was known in their own tongue to various heathen nations, strong and conclusive proof may hence arise that the River of Egypt "could be none other than the Nile." The fact, too, that "none of the old geographers—Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.—notice any stream or torrent at Rhinocorura," and no river, or, in summer at least, not even the smallest streamlet now existing there, it is left without an actual competitor. And yet the proofs and authorities are not exhausted, that the River of Egypt is the Nile, even as assuredly as the Nile is the River of Egypt.

That the *Sihor*, as Gesenius states,* is "necessarily"

* Apud vocem.

the Nile, is farther evident from other passages of Scripture. In describing the commerce of Tyre, the mart of nations, Isaiah records, in terms applicable to the Nile alone, that "by great waters the seed of Sihor, the harvest of the river (or, as translated in the Vulgate, the *Nile*) is her revenues."* That river is alike pointedly referred to by Jeremiah, as the Lord did plead with Israel concerning the judgments brought on them for their iniquities. "Is Israel a home-born slave? The children of Noph (Memphis, on the banks of the *Nile*) and Tahaphanes have broken the crown of thy head. And now what hast thou to do in the *way of Egypt*, to drink the waters of *Sihor*? or what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the river?"† Associated as Egypt thus repeatedly is with its river, or the Sihor, and Assyria with its river, or the Euphrates, there seems no room for doubt, that as the Euphrates is the River of Assyria, so the Nile is the River of Egypt.

The same identical word is descriptive of them both in the original covenant, as the promise was made to Abraham, Gen., xv., 18. The word translated *river* is not, as in other passages, *Nahal*, but *Nehar*, or *Nehar-Mitzraim*, the River of Egypt; even as in the same passage *Nehar Phraat* is the River Euphrates. The same word, too, in the plural number, is applied undoubtedly to the separate branches of the Nile (forming *rivers*, though divided) in a passage that cannot possibly apply to any other river, Exod., vii., 19: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thy hand with thy rod, over the streams, over the rivers (*neharim*), and over the ponds, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt."

It may here be remarked, though anticipating another branch of the subject, that the boundaries of Israel thus approach as closely on the one side to Egypt, as to Assyria on the other, as if preparation had thus been made from the beginning for the completion of the farther promise, that the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians, when these nations shall be joined, though in subserviency, to Israel, "whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."‡

* Isa., xxiii., 3. † Jer., ii., 14-18. ‡ Isa., xix., 23-25.

"The River of Egypt," says Dr. Hales, "which is contrasted with the River Euphrates, must also be a 'great river,' and a *marked boundary about which there could be no dispute;* and this was no other than the Nile, whose eastern or Pelusian branch was reckoned the boundary of Egypt."*

It may be presumed that the other boundaries, as set by a divine hand, and engrossed in the covenant, are also marked, that ultimately, whatever discrepancy of opinion may have heretofore existed, there shall be no doubt or dispute concerning them on any side. Looking to the scriptural definition of the borders, which alone can prescribe the extent of the promised inheritance, ample proof, if the author errs not, may be adduced to show that the heritage of Jacob, however vast its range, is everywhere encompassed by marked unquestionable bounds.

In order to this proof, and to clear our way to attain it, it is needful to protest in every instance against the idea that the fraction of the land occupied by the Israelites of old comprehends the full limits of the "everlasting possession" of a people whom the Lord will bless in the full and final completion of all his promises.

SECTION III.

THE WEST AND NORTH BORDERS.

The WESTERN BORDER is as defined as are the shores of the Mediterranean from the River of Egypt to the north side of the promised land. In the definition of the borders of the tribes who had not received their portion on the east side of the Jordan, it is said, "As for the western border, ye shall even have the great sea for a border; this shall be your west border."† It thus extends along the Mediterranean shore, from the River of Egypt to *the entrance into Hamath*, which both rank as *borders* in the same chapter. In defining the general boundary of all the tribes, when they shall all finally inherit the land, Ezekiel, speaking by the same Spirit, says, "The west side shall also be the great sea, *from the border till a man come over against Hamath. This is the west side.*"‡ "*The border of the land towards the north*

* Hales's Chron., vol. i., p. 413. † Num., xxxiv., 6. ‡ Ezek., xlvii., 20.

side is from the great sea."* From the border—on the River of Egypt, as previously stated, which formed it—the western border extends till its termination along the shores of the Mediterranean, and thus leaves no place on its coast, from south to north, in all the intermediate distance, that does not pertain to Israel.

The definitions of the NORTH BORDER, which fixes the termination of the western, demand special regard.

"This shall be your north border. From the great sea ye shall point out unto you Mount Hor; from Mount Hor ye shall point out your border unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad; and the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan; this shall be your north border: and ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shephan; and the coast shall go down from Shephan to Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall descend,"† &c. "This shall be the border of the land towards the north side, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad, Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath; Hazar-hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran. And the border from the east shall be Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus, and the *north northward*, and the *border of Hamath*. And this is the north side."‡ "From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus northward, to the coast of Hamath: for these are his sides east and west, a portion of Dan."§ Of the land that remained to be possessed at the death of Joshua, peopled by the nations that were not driven out of the promised land, these were included: "from the south *all the land of the Canaanites*, and Mearah, that is beside the Sidonians; and the *land of the Giblites*, and *all Lebanon* towards the sun-rising, from Baal-gad unto Mount Hermon, *unto the entering into Hamath, all the inhabitants of the hill-country*, from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, and *all the Sidonians*."‖

Clear as these scriptural definitions are, yet on the

* Ezek., xlvii., 15. Num., xxxiv., 7–11.
† Num., xxxiv., 7–11.
‡ Ezek., xlvii., 15–17.
§ Ibid., xlviii., 1.
‖ Joshua, xiii., 4–6.

same principle—that the borders of ancient Israel were identical with those of the covenanted land—the valley of the Kasimiyeh, or Leontes, near to Tyre, and over against *Dan*, has, from its vicinity to that city, been generally deemed the *entrance into Hamath*. The careful perusal of these texts, with a glance at the map, may show at once that the north border of the *promised* land cannot possibly be there. Such an entrance into Hamath *from the sea* would exclude, instead of including, at least *all the Sidonians, all Lebanon, all the hill-country from Lebanon, all the land of the Giblites, all the kingdom of Damascus, and all the land of Hamath;* and would leave forever the north border of the land what it was in the days of Joshua. But *very much land*, as the names of these regions suffice to indicate, *remained to be possessed;* and the proof is plain, that the *north end* of the inheritance of Israel was very far from the mouth of the Leontes. The *great sea*, or the Mediterranean, is the *border, till a man come over against Hamath;* but coming thus from *the south* along its shores, when the Leontes is touched, no part of *Lebanon* is reached, instead of it all being passed; and instead of a man being there opposite to *Hamath*, a journey from thence of about forty miles lies between him and Beyrout, that is opposite to Damascus, which city, in difference of latitude alone, is more than a hundred miles south of Hamath; while the allotted territory of a whole tribe of Israel lies *beyond* the *border of Damascus northward*, and has first to be passed through before the entrance into Hamath can be reached.

Instead, therefore, of looking for the real north border of Israel's destined inheritance in the latitude of Dan —which formed, indeed, the bounds of the limited territory possessed by the seed of Jacob in the days of Joshua, as in after ages—the word of the Lord which came unto him teaches us first to pass over *much land* from the south, and tells us the very regions which have to be traversed from thence before the north border has even to be sought for, or can anywhere be found.

All the Sidonians, no mean people, whose land lay along the seashore and the southwestern part of the mountains of Lebanon, occupied no diminutive space. *Lebanon* is an extensive mountainous range, which stretches to the *north* of the embouchure of the Leontes

at least a hundred and twenty miles, or, according to Diodorus Siculus, till it reaches the mountains of Cilicia or the mouth of the Orontes. But besides Lebanon, strictly so called, Israel's unoccupied territory included *all the hill-country* from it to Mizrephoth-maim, which, by seemingly another ample space, extends the land in a mountainous country beyond the bounds of Lebanon. *All the land of the Canaanites, and of the Giblites*, expressly mentioned among the regions that remained to be possessed after the borders of Israel reached the Leontes, have yet to take their place —though, like others, for the first time—within the inheritance of the Israelites, as the land of their *possession*. And of them we may still more definitely speak.

Gabala, mentioned by Ptolemy (Gebal of the Greeks), was one of the maritime towns of Phœnicia, between Aradus and Laodicea. In his account of the *Arvadites, as one of the families of the Canaanites*, Bochart, unbiased by any opposing theory on another theme than the borders of Israel, states that Gabala was probably Gebal mentioned in Ezekiel's description of the greatness of Tyre. Gebal seems plainly to announce itself as the capital of the Giblites, concerning which there seems not to be a question; and Bochart is free to testify that Gebala is probably the Gebal of Scripture. The English translation has retained, with obvious propriety, the original Hebrew word. But as the River of Egypt was transformed, rather than translated, into Rhinocorura, the Septuagint has changed Gebal into Byblus, and the Giblites into Bublioi (Βυβλιοι). Byblus otherwise bears the names of Esbeli, Gibyle, or Jebeil; and it is said by Maundrel and others—following the Septuagint, from which he quotes*—to be probably the country of the Giblites, though, as Pococke states, "the names Giblites and Gebal, *according to our literal translation from the Hebrew*, would incline to think that Gabala, north of Orthosia, was meant."† Gebal or Gabala, now Jebilee or Gibili,‡ has uniformly borne from ancient to modern times the same name (the locality being precisely the same), so slightly changed as not to admit of a doubt as to its identity.

Even if Byblus, or Jebeil, was the chief city of the Giblites, whose land lies within the *inheritance* of Israel, that fact alone annihilates the assumption that the valley of the

* Maundrel's Trav., p. 45. † Pococke's Descrip. of the East, p. 96.
‡ Map in G. Robinson's Trav. in Syria.

Leontes is "the entrance into Hamath," or "the north end" of the promised heritage; for even Byblus is above seventy miles *north* of the entrance of that river into the sea, and therefore as far beyond the ancient northern border of Israel.

But not only is it "probable that Gabala was the ancient Gebal," but it is certain that the country of which it was the capital lay in the immediate vicinity, if it did not form a part, of the land of the Arvadites, one of the families of the *Canaanites*,* *all* whose territories that were unoccupied by the Israelites at the death of Joshua were included in the land that then *remained to be possessed*. Not only *all the Sidonians*, who were descended of the first-born of Canaan, but ALL *the land of the Canaanites*, is expressly named by the Lord, and included in the *very much land* which the Israelites did not occupy in the days of Joshua, or ever after. The *Arvadite* was one of the families of the Canaanites, as much as any other.† Translating literally from Bochart, we read that "the Arvadites, or Aradites, occupied the island of Aradus on the coast of Phœnicia, and part of the neighbouring continent, where are Antaradus, Marathus, and *Laodicea*. Hence the Jerusalem interpreter (or Targum of Jerusalem) has for the Arvadites אנטרדאי, *Antardios*, and Jonathan לימטאי, corruptly for לותכאי, *i. e.*, *Laodicenses*. Near to Laodicea, says Strabo, are Posidium, Heraclium, *Gebala* (Gebal, Ezek., xxvii., 9); then the maritime region of the *Aradi*, Paltus, Balanea, and Caranus, afterward Enydra and Marathus, an ancient Phœnician city. The famous city of Tripoli (three cities), according to Scylax (in Periplo), Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, was built by the Aradi (Arvadites), the Tyrians, and Sidonians."‡ These cities along the Phœnician coast, pertaining to the Arvadites, lead us near to its northern termination, or close by the site of Mount Casius and the mouth of the Orontes, the position of which is marked by these eminent ancient geographers as between *Laodicea* and Seleucia. It is worthy also of remark, that *Giblites* literally mean *borderers;* and that the land of the Giblites and Canaanites (all included in Israel) brings us thus, in passing, according to scriptural guidance, along the *western border*, or the *great sea*, till the entrance into Hamath may be sought for, close to the mouth, not of the Leontes, but of the Orontes.

* The Arvadites, Gen., x., 18. † Gen., x., 18.
‡ Vide Bochart, Phaleg., p. 305, 306.

But other families of the Canaanites dwelt on the coast of Phœnicia, to the north of the kingdom of Sidon; and it may be clearly seen what vast acquisitions beyond all that their fathers possessed have to be made by Israel. That coast, more than any other on earth, was studded with magnificent cities; and there is no portion of it to which their scriptural title may not be clearly shown.

After the death of Joshua, it is recorded that Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of *Accho* (Ptolemais), nor the inhabitants of Zidon, &c., which lay within the lot of that tribe, that included also the strong city of Tyre, which, instead of being possessed by the Israelites as theirs, had its own king in the days of Solomon. All the Sidonians were included in the land that remained to be possessed; and the unreserved and unrestricted term, "*all* the land of the Canaanites," clearly comprehends within Israel's everlasting possession all the Canaanitish territory, besides that of the Sidonians and all that the Israelites had previously occupied. There was no exception of any of the Canaanites, nor of a foot-breadth of their land.

Clear as this fact is, there is as little difficulty or doubt in ascertaining that *very much* land of the Canaanites stretched along the Phœnician shore. Sidon, Arca, Simyra, Arad or Arvad, announce themselves as the respective capitals of the Sidonians, Arkites, Zemarites, and Arvadites, four of the twelve families of the Canaanites; while Jebilee, or Gibili, has ever retained its ancient name as the capital of the Giblites.

From simply reversing the order of the Itinerary of Antoninus, corresponding with that of Jerusalem, and introducing from Ptolemy's Geography the name of a single city (not included in the Itinerary, as it lay five miles to the west of the road which it denotes), the reader may perceive what light is thrown by heathen records on the position of those lands which *remain to be possessed.* What and how extensive they there are, may thus be seen at a glance, the distance being marked in Roman miles.

Sidon to	Berytus (Beyrout)	30
"	Byblus	34
"	Tripoli	36
"	(*Simyra*)	
"	*Arca* (from Tripoli)	16
"	Ant-*Aradus* (*Arvad*)	32
"	Balanea	24
"	*Gabala*	27
"	Laodicea	18
		219

Thus *from the south* much land remained to be possessed, and it can only be beyond these regions that the real northern border lies. They embrace the whole of the Phœnician coast to the north of Sidon, from the southern extremity of Lebanon to the termination of the Anzeyry Mountains, or all Lebanon and the *hill-country* to the entrance into Hamath, which necessarily lies beyond *all the land* of the Canaanites.

That the territories of these Canaanitish nations met, even where their capitals were farthest separate, may be manifest from the facts that the great Sidon, as it is denominated by ancient geographers as in Scripture, was situated near to the one extremity of Lebanon, and Arca on the other, and that the Sidonians and Arvadites had each a portion of the city of Tripoli.

The site of Arca (of which more in the sequel) is undoubted; the testimonies of Ptolemy and Antoninus, of Willerm, archbishop of Tyre, and of Dr. Shaw and Burckhardt, &c., correspond precisely concerning it. In the Itinerary it is placed, as above, at the distance of eighteen miles from Tripoli, and by Burckhardt at about five hours and a half, which, at the usual rate of three miles an hour, is the same. It was a strong and wealthy city at the close of the eleventh century, and its inhabitants at first feared not to assault marauding crusaders.

That it was the capital of the Arkites is equally clear. According to the tradition of the ancients, Willerm says, it was built by Archeus (or Arkeus), the seventh son of Canaan, from which it took its name.* Bochart, in his account of the Canaanites, states in positive terms, as beyond question, that the Arkites possessed Arka or Arca, a city situated in Lebanon, of which mention is made by Ptolemy and Josephus. In it, according to Macrobius Sturnal (lib. i., c. 27), was the temple of Venus Architis.† As Hamath, another chief city of the Canaanites, owned the sovereignty of Solomon, so also, as Josephus testifies, did Arca, where one of his governors was stationed, who had the seacoast about Arce.‡ Its ruins were visited by Dr. Shaw, who terms it the city of the Arkites, the offspring of Canaan; and he mentions, in like manner, Simyra as the seat of the Zemarites.§

"All the Sidonians, all the land of the Canaanites and the

* Will. Tyr., Hist., p. 737. † Boch., Phaleg., p. 305.
‡ Josephus, Ant., viii., 2, 3. § Shaw's Travels, p. 327, edit. Oxford, 1738.

Gibilites" that remained and still remain to be possessed, thus occupied successively and conjointly the Syrian and Phœnician coast for the space of 219 Roman miles, exclusive of the land pertaining to these cities that lay to the south of Sidon and the north of Laodicea.

Instead of limiting the northern border to Dan, the needful proof may be given, that before reaching the entrance into Hamath, or ascending the mountain from whence it has first to be seen, *much land*, as that word came worthily from the mouth of the Lord, *remained to be possessed*.

Wherever the children of Israel entered the land of their enemies to keep it as their own, they changed the names of the cities. But all these names remaining unchanged declared at once their Canaanitish origin, and that the time is yet to come when all these lands shall actually form a portion of the inheritance of Israel.

But in the interior of the country, as well as along the Phœnician coast, *much land* remained to be possessed after Dan had become a city of Israel.

"Syria of Damascus" bordered with ancient Israel on the north, and beyond it lay the land of Hamath. "The border of Damascus," "the border of Hamath," manifestly denote not the cities, between which an extensive region, containing several noble cities, intervened,* but the borders of these two countries or kingdoms, which touched each other, and which embraced wide-extended territories.

Damascus was the metropolis of a kingdom and the head of Syria.† Though Hadad-ezer was defeated by David, his successors reigned at Damascus as kings of Syria for ten generations,‡ and Israel had not long the mastery over Syria. It was laid waste, and Samaria was grievously besieged by the King of Syria, who reigned at Damascus; and "Israel was delivered into the hand of Hazael, and into the hand of Benhadad his son, all their days."◊ Strabo speaks of the *renowned region*, as well as of the noble city of Damascus.‖ Numerous coins exist which show that in

* These cities, with their respective distances, are noted in the Itinerary of Antoninus. From Damascus to Abila, 18 Roman miles; from Abila to Heliopolis (Baalbec), 38; from Heliopolis to Lybon, 32; from Lybon to Laodicea (ad Libanum), 32; from Laodicea to Emesa, 18; from Emesa to Arethusa, 16; from Arethusa to Epiphania, or Hamath, 16—or, in all, 170 miles.—Vide in *Chalcidina*, et Cœlosyria, Itiner. Antonini Augusti, p. 11, 12, edit. Amstetodami, 1619.

† Isa., vii., 8. ‡ Nicolas of Damascus, quoted by Josephus, Ant., vii., 5, 2.

◊ 2 Kings, xiii., 3.

‖ Ἡ Δαμασκηνη χωρα, διαφεροντως επαινουμενη εστι δε και ἡ Δαμασκος πολις

the times of the Cæsars it was "the metropolis of the Damascenes," and the metropolis of the colony of Damascus —the name of the country being Damascene.* Not only does Hamath lie on its farther side from Israel's ancient border, and not only did David and Solomon exercise a sovereignty over it, and seek their "borders" far beyond it, but such is the change to be yet wrought by one word of promise, that the *southern* border of Dan, in the land yet to be possessed, is fixed on the *border of Damascus* NORTHWARD,† whereas its north border (which antiquarians are so fearful to pass) anciently lay on the south border of Damascus. Beyond that *renowned region* ample space must be found for a whole tribe of Israel, when *the land shall overflow for the multitude of men.*

Hamath was the capital of the Hamathites, one of the families of the Canaanites, *all* whose lands, though not possessed at the death of Joshua or in past ages, pertain to Israel by promise. It formed a part of the *kingdom* of Israel, though not of the *land* which the seed of Jacob occupied as their own in full possession. Not only did Solomon build store-cities in Hamath, but Jeroboam *recovered Damascus and Hamath, which belonged to Judah, for Israel. He restored* THE COAST OF ISRAEL *from the entering in of Hamath* unto the sea of the plain.‡

Hamath and its land, once a kingdom, thus pertains to the promised inheritance. In that region the Euphrates approaches comparatively near to the Mediterranean; and as these form "the sides east and west," the portion of a tribe calls for comparatively larger bounds from south to north. "*From the north end* to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan; the border of Damascus *northward*, to the coast of Hamath; for these are his sides east and west, a portion for Dan." Conjoined as the *north-northward*, or far north, is with the northern border of Damascus and the border of Hamath, the north end of the Israelitish inheritance, when it shall all be their own, may not, or, rather, cannot come short of the north

αξιολογος σχεδον τι και επιφανεσταη τε ταυτη κατα τα Περσικα. Damascenus ager apprime nobilitatus. Damascus urbs est insignis, omnium fere nobilissima, quæ in ea sunt regione, Persis vicina.—Strabo, p. 1074.

* Nummi hujus civitatis plures prostant—Augusti ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΩΝ, Damascenorum: Commodi ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΩΝ, Metropoleos Damascenorum: Caracallæ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΣ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠ, Coloniæ Damasci metropolis, &c.—Cellar., Geograph. Ant., tom. ii., p. 270.

† Ezek., xlviii., 1. ‡ 2 Kings, xiv., 25-28.

end of that land which once owned the supremacy of Israel, and formed a part of its coast as a subjugated country, and which bore the name of a family of the Canaanites—as its ancient capital still does—*all* whose land Israel was finally to possess.

Hamath, as Josephus states, was called Epiphania by the Macedonians. Jerome says that it received that name from Antiochus, by which it was afterward known to the Greeks and Romans. He marks its site as near to Emesa, with which it has erroneously been identified by some geographers. For in the Syrian language it never lost its original name; but, on the other hand, having long lost its Greek appellation, it is known only as *Hamah*, the expletive term attached to which, as in modern maps, is Epiphania. Abulfeda, the celebrated geographer, who himself was its prince (in the fourteenth century), calls it "an ancient city, of which mention is made in the books of the Israelites."* Its site is well known in the valley and on the banks of the Orontes. The Orontes bore the name of *Nahr Chamat*, or *River of Hamath*,† through the midst of which it flowed. It was also called Nahr al Maklub (the river reversed), because, as Abulfeda states the reason, it flowed from the south to the north, in an opposite direction to the Leontes, the Jordan, and the Euphrates. Lebanon, and the *hill-country* beyond it, intervening, it found no other course to the sea but that which was the reverse of theirs. Hamath has not only retained its original name, but has also somewhat resumed its comparative importance, though it retains but a shadow of its ancient greatness. It is the largest and most populous town on the banks of the Orontes,‡ while Antioch, that long outrivalled it, is in ruins; and with a name not limited to a spot, there still exists, though within narrowed bounds, "the government of Hamah," which, when visited by Burckhardt in 1814, comprised, in a thinly-peopled and "little cultivated" country, "about one hundred and twenty inhabited villages, and seventy or eighty which have been abandoned."§

Jerome, without questioning its identity with Epiphania, which he repeatedly asserts, distinguishes it from *Hamath the Great*, spoken of by the Prophet Amos, which name he

* Abulfeda, Tabula Syriæ, p. 108. † Ibid., p. 149.

‡ "The town (Hamah) is of considerable extent, and must contain at least thirty thousand inhabitants."—Burckhardt's Syria, p. 146.

§ Burckhardt's Syria, p. 147.

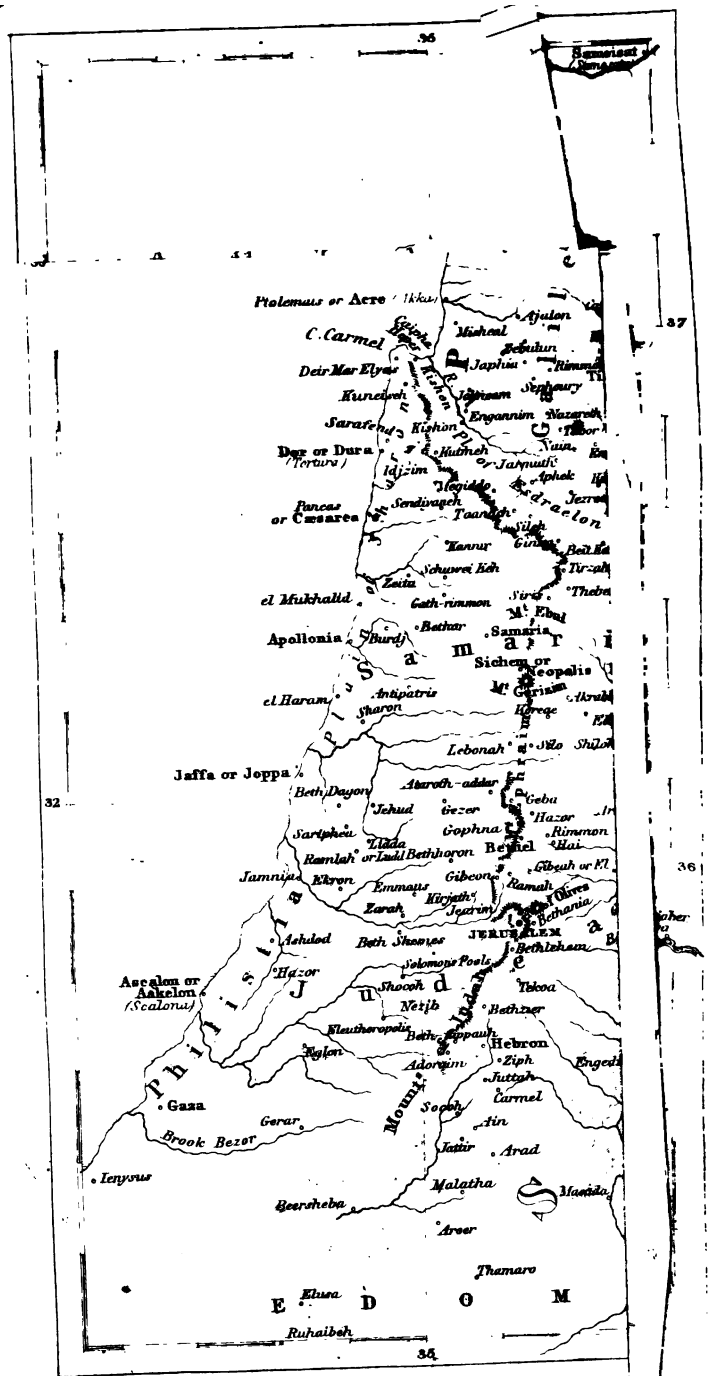
applies to Antioch, that had been for ages not only the chief city in the land of Hamath, but the capital of the Assyrian Empire. It was called "the great," as he relates, "to distinguish it from the lesser Hamath (Emath), which is called Epiphania." The name of the region in the vicinity of Antioch was called *Rebletha*, which he identifies with *Riblah in the land of Hamath*,* repeatedly mentioned in Scripture, and subsequently named Antioch, after Antiochus. It became, assuredly, the greatest city in the land, and might well have taken the name of Hamath the Great. It was early the resort of Egyptian and of Babylonish kings; thither Zedekiah, king of Judah, was led captive; and there his eyes were put out, after they had witnessed the slaughter of his sons. Antioch was afterward the seat of Assyrian monarchs and of Roman emperors. It is accounted, by the most ancient Jewish writers, the capital of Hamath. The learned Bochart, in the preface to his Sacred Geography, identifies Riblah (which assuredly was in the land of Hamath) with Antioch, and Hamath with Epiphania.† And as Solomon not only built store-cities in Hamath, but went to Hamath-*zobah*, and prevailed against it, or maintained his sovereignty over it, as lying within the bounds of his dominions, it may not be unworthy of notice, that "the fountain of *Zoiba*," in the vicinity of Antioch, retains its name.

Though there be thus some discordance of opinion respecting the *town* of Hamath, there is none concerning the *land*. Epiphania and Antioch were both situated in the same country, and on the banks of the same river, which was called the River Chamat, or Hamath. Were there two separate entrances *from the sea* to these cities north of Hamah, a question might then be raised as to the proper border of Israel's inheritance. But the valley of the Orontes is so hemmed in on the western side by a *hill-country*, or long, continuous mountain chain, from beyond Hamah to Antioch, called Hamath the Great, that there is but one entrance from the sea to them both that can have any claim to be reckoned the north border of Israel. The *entering in of Hamath* is the bounding line, and not the city itself, in whatever quarter of the *land* it stood.

Strange indeed it may seem, and the fact would be unac-

* *Reblatha*, sive urbs quæ nunc Antiochiam vocant.—*Hieron. de situ et reonominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, tom. iii., p. 263.

† Ribla et Hamatha, id est, Antiochia et Epiphania.—Boch., præf., 41.


Ptolemais or Acre
C. Carmel
Deir Mar Elyas
Kuneireh
Sarafend
Dor or Dura
Idjzim
Pancas or Cæsarea
el Mukhalid
Apollonia
Jaffa or Joppa
el Haram
Ashdod
Ascalon or Askelon
Gaza
Brook Bezor
Ienysus
Beersheba
Thamara
Ruhaibeh
Galilee
Misheal
Japhia
Engannim
Kishon
Mutileh
Megiddo
Serdjapech
Taanach
Zeita
Bathar
Burdj
Antipatris
Sharon
Lebonah
Beth Dagon
Jehud
Sarphea
Ramlah or Ludd
Jamnia
Ekron
Emmaus
Zarah
Beth Shemes
Hazor
Shocoh
Netjib
Eleutheropolis
Eglon
Gerar
Jattir
Malatha
Areer
Elusa
Mount Judea
Bethlehem
Solomons Pools
Hebron
Adoraim
Ziph
Juttah
Carmel
Socoh
Arad
Maoda
Tekoa
Bethzur
Engedi
Gebeon
Ramah
Bethania
Mt. of Olives
Gibeah or Kl.
Hazor
Gophna
Rimmon
Bethel
Hai
Ataroth-addar
Geba
Jeziar
Mt. Ephraim
Sichem or Neopolis
Samaria
Ebal
Gerizim
Thebez
Shiloh
Lebonah
Tirzah
Jabneel
Aphek
Jezreel
Tabor
Nazareth
Japhia
Rimmon
Sepharvaim
Hamath
Samaritis
Galilee
Phœnicia
Judea
Idumea
Philistia
Palestina Prima
Palestina Secunda
Palestina Tertia
Arabia
Samaritan
Jerusalem
Bethzur
Tekoa
Engedi
Hebron
Maoda
Malatha
Arad
Areer
Thamara
Ruhaibeh
Elusa
Gaza
Ascalon or Askelon
Scalona
Ashdod
Jamnia
Ekron
Jaffa or Joppa
Apollonia
Dor or Dura
Ptolemais or Acre
C. Carmel
Deir Mar Elyas
Kuneireh
Sarafend
Pancas or Cæsarea
el Mukhalid
el Haram
Brook Bezor
Ienysus
Beersheba
Gerar
Eglon
Adoraim
Juttah
Socoh
Jattir
Ziph
Carmel
Ain
Engedi
Tekoa
Bethzur

countable, were not a false theory thereby maintained, that the highest authorities in scriptural geography among Christian writers in modern times could have stumbled in a path so plain. Instead of seeking the entrance into Hamath wherever it could truly be found, Bochart, Cellarius, and many others discard the testimony of Jewish writers, because they fix the northern borders far beyond the ancient bounds, and believed that they reached to Antioch.

"The Hamathites" (descendants of Canaan), says Bochart, "were the inhabitants of Hamath, of which Antioch was the capital, if we believe Olympiodorus and the paraphrasts (or commentaries) of Jonathan and of Jerusalem, and Rabbin Solomon. But opposed to this is the fact that, in Scripture, the northern boundary of the Holy Land is often fixed at the entrance into Hamath, which no one skilled in the geography of the country can affirm to have reached unto Antioch."* The difficulty, as he states, is easily solved from Jerome, Antioch being "Hamath the Great," and Epiphania Hamath. And he rather inadvertently adds, that though the former city was far remote from the *boundaries of the Jews*, Epiphania was not very distant.

No one, indeed, who knows where those cities stood, can say that Dan bordered on Antioch, or that the ancient boundary of the Holy Land lay near to the capital of the Assyrian Empire. But every one acquainted with the geography of Syria can tell, that with the intervening distance of more than a hundred and fifty miles, Dan was as far from Epiphania on the north as from Beersheba on the south. And every one who gives due heed to scriptural testimony must know, as the Lord himself has declared, that *very much land*, including kingdoms, lay beyond the ancient frontier of Israel, which belongs to the *promised* inheritance. And the fact admitted by Bochart, that Antioch lay in the land of Hamath, may possibly aid in the solution of the only question now worthy of consideration, viz., where the entrance into Hamath really is; for that, and that alone, can determine where is the *border* of the heritage of Israel on the coast of the Mediterranean.

Hitherto we have passed along the west border, or the shores of the Great Sea, till we have seen that much land, as defined, *remained to be possessed*; and—with the sea on one side, and a *hill-country* on the other, first the Lebanon,

* Bochart, Phaleg., p. 307.

and afterward, as every map shows, the Anzeyry Mountain —till we have reached the territory *over against Hamath*, and seek from thence an entrance into that land; and after having passed the countries of the Sidonians, Arkites, Arvadites, and Giblites, and approached to the mouth of the Orontes, in the midland region of Northern Syria, we have traversed the kingdom of Damascus to reach the *destined* southern border of the tribe of Dan. We have passed to Hamath, which itself, with its kingdom, owned of old, and must forever own, the sovereignty of Israel, and be a portion of their possession, as well as a *part of their coast;* and from thence we have looked in vain for any opening in the mountainous range by which the Orontes could flow into the Mediterranean, or an entrance be found from it into the land of Hamath, till Antioch is reached, and another mountain chain, stretching *across* the land, forbids our farther progress. But to the *Great Sea* we must return, to seek, by the guidance of the word that never errs, and that misleads none who, with a single eye and steady step, do closely follow it, to find an entrance into Hamath from thence, or the place where the western border of Israel terminates and the north begins. And here we need not seek in vain, but have only to look to the *very high mountain* which the Divine word points out, ascending which the *entrance into Hamath* lies at our feet, and at once an open way is there, and there only, seen, *from the Great Sea* into *the land of Hamath.*

Where, then, according to the scriptural definition of its locality, is the *entrance into Hamath?* or what defined line is there, if any there be, which has a paramount and exclusive right to bear that name, and which, as that very thing which Scripture calls it, suffices as a marked and distinctive border of that "everlasting possession" which God gave to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and to their seed forever? How is it to be found, or, in other words, what saith the Scripture?

This shall be your north border; from the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor (Heb., Hor-ha-hor); *from Mount Hor ye shall point out unto the entrance into Hamath.* "The west side also shall be the great sea, till a man come over against Hamath." "And this shall be the border of the land towards the north side, *from the great sea*, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad, Hamath, Berothah, &c. *From the north end* to the coast of the way of Hethlon, *as one goeth to Hamath,*" &c.

The entrance into Hamath is thus manifestly *from the great sea*, or the Mediterranean; and the limits of the west border along the coast are not to be sought *till a man come over against Hamath.* Here, then, Lebanon is passed; for Hamath lies on the east of the *Anzeyry* Mountains. The special direction is, from the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor, or Hor-ha-hor. Hor, in Hebrew, signifies *mountain;* and a repetition of the same word, according to the Hebrew idiom, denotes the superlative degree. It is thus translated in the Vulgate, or common Latin version of the Old Testament, *a very high mountain*, and the passage is rendered, "*coming even to a very high mountain, from which they go into Emath.*"*

Lebanon, and the territory of the *Giblites*, and all the land of the Canaanites on the coast, had to be passed before such a mountain could be reached, however conspicuously it might rise to view. Captains Irby and Mangles, advancing from south to north along the Phœnician coast, without the thought of bearing testimony concerning the borders of Israel, or previously of looking for any such mountain there, thus connect, in the same paragraph, the brief notice of Gabala (or Gebal), of the vast plain bounded by mountains (which intervened between them and Hamath, opposite to it as then they were), and of the most conspicuous object before them, after Lebanon was passed. "At Jibilee, the ancient *Gabala*, are Roman ruins, the principal of which are the remains of a fine theatre at the north side of the town. The whole journey from Tripoli—with a single exception near Markab, where the coast is rocky—is along a vast plain at the foot of the Ansanar (Anzeyry†) Mountains. Mount Lebanon was in sight the whole way from Tripoli. *Mount Casius was before us.*"‡

The reader, in quest of the entrance into Hamath *from the sea*, must remember his position here, that, as Captains Irby and Mangles were actually doing, he journeys northward along the Mediterranean shore, in the land of the Arvadites, who were Canaanites, or of the Giblites, all of which lay within the promised heritage of Jacob's seed, situated directly *opposite to Hamath;* the Anzeyry Mountains, beyond which it lay, shutting out wholly that land from

* Pervenientes usque ad montem altissimum, a quo venient in Emath.
† Burckhardt's orthography is adopted.
‡ Captains Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 222, 223.

view, and separating it from the Phœnician plain. And to know where *the entrance into Hamath* is to be found, he has not, even where he stands, to look for *it*, but, in obedience to the Divine direction, to use the prescribed means of finding it. *From the great sea ye shall* POINT OUT *for you a very high mountain.* That is literally the *point* for which he has to look. The eye has not to wander inland over a wide mountainous range, stretching for more than a hundred miles; but a very high mountain has to be pointed out, a precise place has to be fixed on, from whence—it may be from whence alone on all the northern Phœnician shore—*the entrance into Hamath* has next to be *pointed out* or to be seen. Such a high mountain, to be there singled out *from the sea*, may, or, rather, must be seen also on its coast, there to stand alone or unrivalled as a landmark, and as a point commanding an inland view. Such a mountain is Casius. While Lebanon was still in view, though left behind, no other mountain is seen along the shore to compete in height with Casius; nay, the whole land is there a plain—the great plain, as it is called; and, terminating the last of the land of the *Canaanites* that dwelt in Phœnicia, Mount Casius is ever in the eye of the traveller journeying northward, and, as if without a competitor or rival claimant, is ever before him in the *maritime territory* opposite to Hamath. The inquirer has to hold on his way along the coast *of the great sea*, and cannot leave it, or reach the proper, because prescribed, point, till such a mountain be found, from which again he has to point out the entrance into Hamath. That Mount Casius, which can thus be *pointed out*, upon the coast and in the proper direction, along all the region in which alone the required mountain can be rightly looked for, answers all the conditions of the problem, admits of a demonstration that may be said to be ocular; and the distance at which it is seen, while Lebanon, which had been passed, is at the same time in view, might alone prove its title to the name of Hor-ha-hor, or a *very high mountain.*

After passing over *hills* richly wooded, without descending into a plain, Captains Irby and Mangles reposed during night in the village of Lourdee, in an *elevated situation*, close by the side of "the highest pinnacle of Casius."* It thus

* Hor-ha-hor has been translated a mountain of a mountain, a double mountain. If such a translation be preferred, Casius and *Anti-Casius* stand ready to respond to it as definite *points*. But the entrance into Hamath has not to be pointed out by a man standing on two mountains(!), but on one, especially if these mountains, like

rises like a *mountain* on (or of) *a mountain*, in a manner of which its scriptural name may be said to be literally significant or expressive.

Mount Casius, rising abruptly from the sea, high above all the hills in its vicinity, and peculiarly of a pointed form, and situated between the once famous cities of Seleucia and *Laodicea*, is repeatedly mentioned by ancient writers; and the preposterous terms in which they describe it sufficiently show how greatly it was renowned for its height, so as appropriately to bear the designation of a "very high mountain." Its locality is undoubted, as marked by Strabo* and Pliny, near to Seleucia, and by Ammianus Marcellinus, as the Orontes flows by its base.† Its height is described by Pliny and others, in an oft-repeated statement, which merits ridicule alone, as such, that at the fourth watch, the sun (three hours before its rise) is to be seen from its summit; so that the spectator, by turning round, or looking from the east to the west, can equally see both day and night at once;‡ and somewhat less extravagantly, he marks its altitude as four miles by the steepest ascent. Its bare and lofty pinnacle, as reflecting the first rays of the sun, might indeed be the first herald of the morning, after—if not, as alleged, before—the crowing of the cock.§ Noted as Mount Casius of Syria thus was for the early rising of the sun as seen from its summit, the fact may plainly be inferred, that of all the hilly region around, the "pinnacle of Casius," from its superior elevation, was daily first gilded by the solar rays. For the same reason, it would prove the first and most conspicuous landmark *from the sea*, situated as it is on the lip of the ocean. Without attempting to define its situation, Pococke, who passed it, affirms that it is certainly (giving unconsciously the very translation of Hor-ha-hor in the Vulgate) *a very high mountain*, though, as he very safely states, "Pliny's testimony seems to exceed the truth."‖

Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, stretch from south to north for more than a hundred miles.

* Strabo, p. 1068.

† Orontes imos pedes Casii Montis illius celsi prætermeans.—Amm. Marcel., lib. xiv., c. 8 (al. 26), p. 33, edit. Lugd. Bat., 1693.

‡ Super Seleuciam Mons Casius, cujus excelsa altitudo quarta vigilia orientem per tenebras solem adspicit, brevi circumactu corporis diem noctemque pariter ostendens. —Plin., lib. v., c. 22. In Monti Casio, quam videndi solis ortus gratia noctu adscendisset, &c.—Had. Spartian., c. xiv.

§ Præstituto feriarum die Casium montem adscendit nemorosum, *et terreti ambitu in sublime porrectum*, unde secundis gallicinüs videtur primi solis exortus.—Ammian., lib. xxii., c. 14, (33), p. 256. Hi omnes de Syriæ Monti Casio illam de prematuro solis ortu narrationem habent.—Vide Cellarii Geograph. Ant., tom. ii., p. 251.

‖ Pococke's Description of the East, p. 187.

The reason which he assigns why a southern summit of the same mountain could alone, in his estimation, be Anti-Casius, viz., that "all the other hills being *very low with regard* to (in comparison with) *Mount Casius*,"* may serve at once to show why it has been so peculiarly celebrated for its height, and how it is thereby aptly fitted, as if raised on purpose by the God of Nature, who is also the God of Israel, for forming the termination of the western border of Israel's inheritance along the Mediterranean Sea, and the point where the northern begins.

The peculiar position of Mount Casius, not only on the very verge of the sea, but also at the northern termination of a long maritime plain, and the termination, too, of the river and valley of the Orontes (or, according to Abulfeda, of the River of Hamath), tends, together with its pointed form, to render it more conspicuous and remarkable than loftier mountains in other regions, whose pre-eminence is not so marked. Thus while, in that pure atmosphere, it is seen for so long a distance in the northern coast of Syria, and also from the sea, it is no less conspicuous at the distance of more than sixty miles in an opposite direction; for the same travellers by whom we have been led to the first view of it, state that Mount Casius was in sight from *Sermain*, which lies on the farther side of the land of Hamath. Mount Casius is, we may confidently affirm, the only mountain on any part of the coast which lies *over against* the land of Hamath, that is anywhere visible from it, or from any region beyond it.

But if Mount Casius be the *very high mountain* from which the entrance into Hamath has to be pointed out, where is such an *entrance* to be seen from it? That entrance is the very object in immediate view lying at its base, and stretching inland to Antioch, as from the *north end* of the land one goeth unto Hamath, &c. The Orontes empties itself into the sea at the foot of Casius, a narrow plain intervening at its entrance. And that mountain is as fitting a station from whence *the entrance into Hamath* may be pointed out, as it is itself a peculiar landmark *from the sea*.

"*From the sea* ye shall point out to you a very high mountain, and *from that mountain* ye shall point out the entrance into Hamath." And not till Mount Casius is as-

* Pococke's Description of the East, p. 167.

cended is any entrance into Hamath seen; but its northern side is that also of a valley, which needs but to be *pointed out* as the sought-for border of Israel. Descriptions by unconscious travellers may show that the relative connexion between the high mountain and the entering in of Hamath is as close in *fact* as in the text.

"The southern part of the city (the ruined Seleucia) commands a view of the sea, Mount Casius, the port, the plain to the south, and the Orontes running through it." "From the mountains the country *appears like a plain all the way to Antioch;* but about a league to the east *from the sea* there are low hills almost as far as that city, which have fruitful valleys between them."*

"The valley in which the Orontes winds down and discharges itself into the sea is well seen from hence (Seleucia). Its southern boundary is the range of Jebel Okrab (Mount Casius), the *steep sides of which seem to rise abruptly from the sea*, and continue their ascent till they terminate in its gray and bare peak, at the height of perhaps 5000 feet from the base. Its northern boundary is the range of mountain called Jebel Mousa, the western extremity of which slopes down into a cape at the distance of less than a mile north of the moles and entrance of the ruined port of Antioch, and its even summit runs along to the eastward, until it loses itself among more uneven hills. The inner or eastern parts of these ranges gradually approach each other till they seem to meet, thus leaving a triangular valley or plain between them, its base-line being the edge of the seacoast, and its whole length from eight to ten miles. It is nearly in the centre of this that the Orontes winds down its course; and the whole of the space on its northern bank is occupied by corn-fields, mulberry grounds, gardens of fig-trees, and detached cottages, all excellently built."†

"I set out" (from Antioch), says Mr. G. Robinson, "for Suedieh, situated in a plain five hours and a half southwest of Antioch, and one from the sea. The road to it is over a country slightly undulated, and crossed occasionally by streams, falling from the mountains to the north, and running towards the Orontes." "From the ruins of Seleucia I crossed over the plain southward, about four miles, to the

* Pococke's Description of the East, p. 186.
† Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 550, 551.

mouth of the Orontes. The *entrance* is marked by the whitened tomb of a Turkish santon. Djebel Okrab (Mount Casius), on the south side of the river, appears from this spot to great advantage, rising abruptly *from the sea* to the height of between five and six thousand feet, and terminating in a sharp peak. Its lower part is cultivated, but towards the top it is gray and bare of trees, from whence it derives its name Okrab, meaning in Arabic 'bald.' From the mouth of the river I ascended the right bank till I came to a large basin, which I was told was the ancient port of Antioch.' Mr. Robinson returned to Antioch on the southern side of the river, partly along the north declivity of Mount Casius. "In one hour I reached the banks of the Orontes, near the place where, issuing from the mountains, it enters the plains previous to emptying itself finally into the sea, two miles from hence. At this stage of its course, though not very wide, it is a fine, deep, and steady-flowing river, and navigable for vessels of about a hundred tons burden. On crossing the river, and reaching the opposite side, we commenced ascending the left bank of the stream, and in a quarter of an hour entered a *mountain pass* of surprising beauty. For more than two hours from hence the *Orontes is seen flowing between a double line of high hills*, winding and turning incessantly—as the ground on which it passes presents obstacles to its free course—though enabling it thereby to distribute alternately to either side the fertilizing powers of its waters. In this interval the road is naturally subject to the caprices of the river. At two hours from the western entrance of the pass, the mountains on the right bank of the river suddenly dwindle into comparative insignificance, and shortly after the view opens again to the plain of Souedie. Following the path along the hills which overlook the Orontes, in three hours we reached Antioch, making a total of seven from Suedieh. The road we took on our return this day is nearly two miles more than *the straight one across the plain*, and is, therefore, little frequented."*

Captains Irby and Mangles, after having rested during night at the village of Lourdie, situated immediately by the side of the highest pinnacle of Mount Casius, without ascending it, descended the north side of the mountains, through woody and wild scenery; and after having lost

* Travels in Palestine and Syria, vol. ii., p. 294, 298.

their way several times, reached "the banks of the Orontes at the place where commences the picturesque part of the river, and immediately below the spot where the chart was marked, the site of the city and groves of Daphne. We began now to follow the banks of the river, and were astonished at the beauty of the scenery, far surpassing anything we expected to see in Syria, and, indeed, anything we had witnessed in Switzerland, though we walked nine hundred miles in that country, and saw most of its beauty. The river, from the time we began to trace its banks, ran continually between the high hills, winding and turning incessantly; at times the road led over precipices in the rocks, looking down perpendicularly on the river. The luxuriant variety of foliage was prodigious; and the rich green myrtle, which was very plentiful, contrasted with the colour of the road, the soil of which was a dark-red granite, made us imagine we were riding through pleasure-grounds. The laurel, laurustinus, bay-tree, fig-tree, wild vine, plane-tree, English sycamore, arbutus, both common and andrachne, dwarf oak, &c., were scattered in all directions. At times the road was overhung with rocks covered with ivy; the mouths of caverns also presented themselves, and gave a wildness to the scene; and the perpendicular cliffs jutted into the river upward of three hundred feet high, forming corners round which the waters ran in a most romantic manner; and on one occasion the road wound round a deep bay thus, so that, on perceiving ourselves immediately opposite the spot we had so recently passed, it appeared that we had crossed the river. We descended at times into plains cultivated with mulberry plantations and vines, and prettily studded with picturesque cottages. The occasional shallows of the river, keeping up a perpetual roaring, completed the beauty of the delightful scene, which lasted about two hours, when we entered into the plain of the Suadrach, where the river becomes of greater breadth, and runs to the sea in as straight a line as a canal."*

The patience of the reader may have been tried in passing through the dry details of names and mere localities, as if the whole scene, destitute of all attraction, possessed no other interest, and were bleak as the bare pinnacle of Casius. But his perseverance may be rewarded by the enchant-

* Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 225, 226.

ing scene which thus bursts upon his view, on being introduced to the entrance into Hamath. It is not, however, with its beauty that we have here to do, when a rigid scrutiny and strict search as to the reality of its claim, as adduced for the first time, have alone to be regarded. But these simply and hitherto unapplied facts may conspire, with still farther proof, to make the entrance into Hamath patent to the world.

Nothing but a *hill-country*, without any such entrance into Hamath, is to be seen along the whole of the eastern side of the great plain, till that plain, which lies over against the land of Hamath, or great valley of the Orontes, is passed, and Mount Casius is ascended. But immediately from it, as from the lower hills around, *the country appears like a plain all the way to Antioch.* The Orontes at last, after a course of nearly two hundred miles from south to north, almost parallel to the coast, is turned by another mountain chain, winds its way *between a double line of high hills*, and then, straight as a canal, enters by a direct line into the Mediterranean Sea, a fine, deep, and steady-flowing stream, without any obstruction to turn it aside when it had reached the junction of the west and north borders of Israel.

While it is thus manifest that there is in this precise point an entrance into Hamath, the nature of it, as well as the situation it occupies, may add another feature by which it may be recognised.

Cellarius, who earnestly strives to assimilate the borders of the promised land with those of ancient Israel, states, without adducing any illustration or specifying any locality, that the manner in which the border of Palestine, as he denominates it, is spoken of as the entrance into Hamath, denotes "a province to be entered through straits or narrow passes"—*per fauces et angustias adeundam.** Plain as is the meaning of these words, it may be more obvious to some readers by a mere reference to the common Latin dictionary—"*fauces*, straits or narrow passages, the mouth of a river." Such, precisely, is the actual scene. A *mountain pass*, where for several miles the opposite hills almost meet, forms, near to the mouth of a river, the entrance into Hamath; while, notwithstanding, from the high mountain from which it is pointed out, and is seen to form a well-defined valley, it appears, however narrowed in some places by low

* Cellar., tom. ii., p. 281.

hills, *like a plain all the way* to Antioch, or for the distance of sixteen miles, till extensive plains spread out in the land of Hamath.

Traversing covenanted, and, therefore, Israelitish ground, we first passed along the shore till the land bordered with the mouth of the Orontes; and again, in the interior, with a hill-country between, to Antioch. And from more abundant proof that may still farther be supplied, the reader may judge whether, in the space *that intervenes between these two places*, the scriptural entrance into Hamath may not be seen, as plainly as was the road—which lay there the whole way—between Antioch and its port.

But while the Phœnician coast has to be followed till the designated mountain be reached, and very much land has to be passed beyond the ancient frontier of Israel, so that all the appointed territories may be included within the borders, yet it is not from the shore, but *from the sea*, that the very high mountain was to be pointed out, from which the entrance into Hamath is seen. It is, therefore, necessary to add the testimony of the navigator to that of the traveller.

Sailing northward from Arvad, the ancient capital of the Arvadites, as Captains Irby and Mangles advanced in the same direction along the shore, another witness, on passing Latakia (or Laodicea), thus points to Mount Casius. "The scenery soon after became very fine. Mount Casius rose out of the sea with stupendous grandeur, raising its craggy sides *and lofty peak* of naked rock into the sky; the woody precipices along the coast seemed to drop into the sea. Their forms were cast in the most magnificent mould, much finer than the heights of Lebanon. Mount Casius is from every point a sublime feature, but the most beautiful point is the gorge in the mountains through which the Orontes finds its way to the plain and sea; there is a loneliness in the folding forms of the mountains, a solitude, a wildness, which makes one long to trace the romantic course of this river"*—to see, it might have been said, the entrance into Hamath.

"The *entrance* by the mouth of the Orontes," as it is literally called, "possesses a grandeur rarely equalled by this beautiful country. Mount Casius rises abruptly from the sea; its summit is a bold rocky pinnacle."†

* Fisher's Views of Syria. Descriptions by J. Carne, Esq., of Cambridge, vol. ii., p. 28, 29.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 77.

But other witnesses are not wanting to raise their voice at last from that once frequented but long deserted shore. As if the very first fruits of the Euphrates expedition had been destined to be an offering to the cause of scriptural illustration, by the concurring solution of another problem than that of the practicability of the navigation of the Euphrates, Colonel Chesney, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, commences an admirable article on the Bay of Antioch by a description of the scene, as the expedition bore down upon the coast of Syria, in order that they might disembark at the very point which formed of old the port of Antioch. In preference to all other places, he sought an *entrance* there, whereby to go to Beer on the Euphrates.

"The Bay of Antioch is spacious, free from rocks, and well sheltered on every side, with the exception of the southeast, where, in the distant horizon, is seen the lofty island of Cyprus; the anchorage, however, is good, and the water deep, almost to the very beach. This was the spot selected, in order to avoid the Beïlán Mountains, for the disembarcation of the party destined to proceed on the expedition to the Euphrates. On the 3d April, 1835, H. M. S. Columbine, followed by the George Canning, under all sail, led the way from the offing towards the anchorage. To the south, as we proceeded, was the *lofty Jebel El Akrab* [Mount Casius], rising 5318 feet above the sea, with its *abutments extending to Antioch*. To the north, the Beilan *range*, 5337 feet, well stocked with forest trees, chiefly oak, walnut, and fir; and in front, the broad expanse of the bay, backed by the hills of Antioch, Mount S. Simeon, or Benkiliseh, covered with myrtle, bay, and arbutus, all together forming a striking and magnificent panorama,"* &c.

"The southern horn of the Bay of Antioch trends inward, east by north, about seven miles to the beach. Near its outer extremity is the little bay or fissure called Kasab, and three miles nearer to the mainland that of Karâ Mayor, which is rather larger, and has a good anchorage off it close to the shore; the rest of the distance along the foot of Mount Casius being precipitous, and for the most part inaccessible, as far as the beach, beyond which the range of Jebel El Akrab runs towards Antioch in the previous direction, east by north, with the rich, picturesque valley of the Orontes at the foot, and the celebrated fountain of Daphne on its slope.

* Geographical Journal, vol. viii., p. 228.

REMAINS OF THE PORT OF SELEUCIA, NEAR SUADEAH. MOUNT CASIUS IN THE DISTANCE.

Eight miles and a half north by west, half west, is the other horn of the bay, which is formed by Jebel Musa; on the base of which, *opening* northwest, are the ruins of the well-known city built by Seleucus Nicator to celebrate his victory over Antigonus; but it has a much deeper interest to the Christian from being the spot where Paul and Barnabas embarked for Cyprus."*

Such a description, by such an observer, may add a still deeper interest to the scene, as showing how the Bay of Antioch has been formed by Nature's God, and presents the *opening* on the coast where He has also formed the entrance into Hamath, so often spoken of in his Word.

The expedition first pitched their tents near to the ruins of Seleucia. "The scene, with the British flag floating over their heads, and the noble mountains which surrounded them, *of which Mount Casius was the monarch*, was most animated and picturesque."†

That spot, with Mount Casius in the distance, is delineated in the splendid work entitled "Fisher's Views, or Syria, the Holy Land, &c., illustrated," to the publishers of which the author is indebted for an illustration of the scene, as well as the view of a portion of the valley, both taken from the original plates. The reader is referred to other views of Mount Casius in the same work, as it is seen *from the sea* (vol. i., p. 77); from Mr. Barker's village at Suadeah; and from the village of Beit-y-ass (vol. iii., p. 74), where the lofty peak of Casius is seen towering higher than the other less defined mountains.

In the description of the view of the remains of the port of Seleucia, it is said, "The scene at present is wild and impressive. A desolate and rocky beach—Mount Casius on the left—a few country barks crossing the Bay of Suadeah, to enter the mouth of the Orontes. The two piers of the ancient port are seen projecting into the sea: the ruined tower on the rock was built for its protection; and near this one of the piers ran into the sea, constructed of very large stones, some of them twenty feet by six in width and five in depth: they have been fastened together by iron cramps, the remains of which are still to be seen. Mount Casius, that towers on the left far above the other heights, is the finest mountain, and of the most striking appearance of any in Syria: its summit is a pyramid of rock; its sides

* Geographical Journal, vol. viii., p. 228, 229. † Fisher's Views, vol. i., p. 77.

are broken into deep and precipitous glens. Its larger portion is bare and naked, yet it is more sublime in its bareness than if sheltered entirely, like many of its neighbours, by magnificent forests. The setting sun, resting long on its aerial deserts of rocks, on its wild and waste crest, is glorious to behold."* (See Plate 1.)

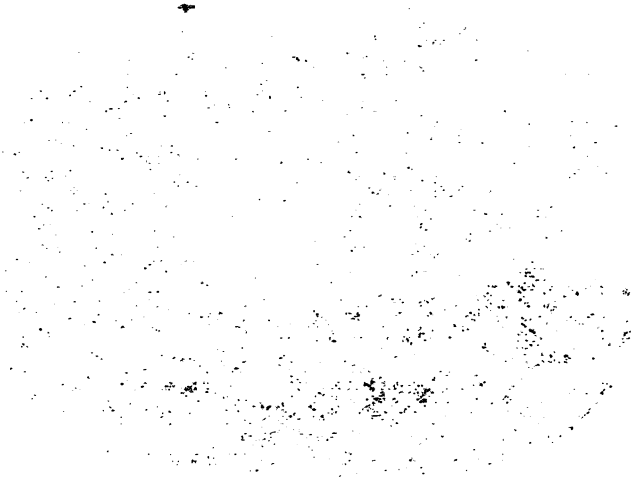
But it is not *from the sea*, but from the mountain, that the entrance is to be seen. The hills of Antioch, Mount S. Simeon, or Ben-kiliseh, shut in the view; and not one man on board the vessels having entered the bay before, great uneasiness was felt lest they might have mistaken the intended bay, till, near the shore, the Orontes was seen, from the topmast head, winding towards its estuary. The summit of Ben-kiliseh, a low mountain, is about five miles from the sea, and commands a beautiful view westward, over a very rich plain extending to the sea, closed in by Mount Casius to the southward, and the Jebel Mûsa range to the northward; while to the east is the valley of the Orontes, terminated by the castellated hills of Antioch, the general view being closed to the northeast by the Beilan Mountains.†

A section of the valley near this point is presented in the *view of the junction of a tributary stream which descends from Mount Amanus*, and falls into the river; in the description of which it is said, "The numerous flocks and their shepherds give a pastoral appearance to this scene; the old stone bridge [which shows that of old there was a road or entrance there], with its single arch, crosses the tributary stream that loudly pours its tide into the calm, majestic bosom of the Orontes. Cultivation is visible even to the water's edge: the declivities afford the richest pasture to the flocks, whose keepers, seated on the banks or beneath the trees, look every day on a scene that might vie with the fields of Arcadia. The whole valley of the Orontes, up to Antioch, is magnificent, between the ranges of Mount Casius and Amanus, and it is cultivated in many parts, and might be made, with industry, as productive as in ancient times: viewed a few miles farther from the heights of Beit-el-ma (a lower prolongation of Casius), the river presents a splendid broad expanse, winding between the bold range of Amanus and the mountain of the column."‡ (See Plate 2.)

The view presents only a part of the valley; and even

* Fisher's Views, vol. ii., p. 17.
† Geog. Journ., vol. viii., p. 228, 229.
‡ Fisher's Views, vol. i., p. 18.

JUNCTION OF A TRIBUTARY STREAM WITH THE CROXTES



from the summit of Ben-kiliseh the view of the valley of the Orontes is terminated to the east by the castellated hills of Antioch, and the termination of the entrance is not from thence to be seen; but from the *very high mountain* which towers above the other hills, the entrance is seen in all its length, and beyond it part of the land of Hamath, to which it leads. In Mr. Ainsworth's Researches in Assyria, a view is given of *Jebel Akra, or Mount Casius, seen from Gul*

Bashi, the "head of the lake," with the hills of Antioch in front, which is here inserted, with the kind permission of the author and publisher. As Casius forms a most prominent landmark as pointed out from the sea, so, on the other extremity of the entrance into Hamath, it forms as conspicuous an object, and is seen to rise as a mountain whose base is the summit of another—Hor-ha-hor, or literally a mountain on a mountain. The height of the "summit of pass," or "the minimum of crest, and summit level of a road," is 2460 feet; the village of Beshkir is 2513;* but another mountain rises above the summit level of the lower to more than twice that height.

"Burckhardt, Volney, Adrien Balbi, and others, have looked upon Casius and the Nosairi Hills as effecting a con-

* Ainsworth's Assyria, p. 305.

nexion between the Lebanon and Amanus, and hence geographically connecting the systems of Taurus and Libanus; and this view of the subject," according to the able testimony of Mr. Ainsworth, "is farther supported by the geognostic structure of the chains."* The entrance into the land of Hamath thus lies between them and the connecting point, or base of Casius; and the opposite hill bears the name of Djebel Mousa, as if the name of the Hebrew legislator were engraven on the northern frontier of Israel.

An extensive mountain range from north to south, and another from east to west, form, in their respective terminations, the opposite sides of the valley, which terminates also the course of the Orontes, or the River of Hamath. That river flowed alike by Hamath and Antioch, through the centre of the land; and it is not an unnatural supposition, though other facts were not known to support it, that the entrance into Hamath *from the sea* was, in all likelihood, the same as that by which the River of Hamath entered the sea. Immediately at that point where its waters mingle with those of the ocean, there rises abruptly a very high mountain, from whence an open and direct entrance into Hamath lies in immediate prospect, right inland, which doubtless formed the great thoroughfare from the sea in Northern Syria, and opened up a plain way from thence to the cities in the land of Hamath, and led directly to others in the vicinity or on the banks of the Euphrates.

Riblah, in the land of Hamath, was the Syrian seat of the King of Babylon in the days of the prophets of Israel. Antioch, in its place or immediate neighbourhood, became the seat of the Assyrian monarchs, and was repeatedly the resort of Roman emperors. Its port, of which the remains are yet to be seen, was near to the mouth of the Orontes; and Seleucia, with its port "capable of containing a thousand vessels," lay in the vicinity. Along the coast the lofty pinnacle of Casius was the surest beacon *from the sea;* and it directed the mariner to the entrance of Hamath, the maritime terminus of which formed the stations of two extensive ports, while at its opposite extremity lay Hamath the Great, or the capital of Assyria. The bounding mountains on both sides precluded any other entrance; while a river, navigable for vessels of one hundred tons, with a road on its south side, and a narrow path on the northern bank, where the opposing mountains almost meet, passed through a most en-

* Ainsworth's Assyria, p. 305, 306.

chanting scene, which there is thus strong reason for believing was consecrated by Divine promise as ultimately a portion of the northern border of Israel, before the Grove of Daphne, planted beside it, was desecrated by heathen abominations. Having the celebrated and opulent city of Seleucia, together with its port and that of Antioch, in one end, and the city of Antioch, which numbered eight hundred thousand inhabitants, on the other, and opening a way from the *north end* of Syria, not only to the land of Hamath, but also to the countries which environed the Euphrates, the valley in which the River Hamah or Orontes terminated its course was, and is worthy, as the *entrance into Hamath*, of being recognised as a heaven-appointed border of that land, which, so soon as it is entered, thus begins to assert or vindicate the title given it by the Lord, "the glory of all lands."

The entering in of Hamath from Hor-ha-hor, or the very high mountain pointed out *from the sea*, opens the way from thence to other places of which mention is made; and farther scriptural definitions are given of the north border of Israel, which need here to be repeated.

"And this shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor; and from Mount Hor ye shall point out your border unto the entrance of Hamath; and the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad. And the border shall go on to Ziphron, and the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-enan: this shall be your north border."* "Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the River Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be,"† &c. "This shall be the border of your land towards the north side, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad; Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath; Hazar-hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran. And the border from the sea shall be Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus, and the north northward, and the border of Hamath. And this is the north side."‡ "From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus northward, to the coast of Hamath, a portion for Dan."§

* Num., xxxiv., 7–9.
† Deut., xi., 24.
‡ Ezek., xlvii., 15–17.
§ Ibid., xlviii., 1.

These different places to which the way lay, from the sea, through the entrance into Hamath, are, in general, slightly, if at all, noticed by geographers of the Holy Land, or are, as by Calmet, &c., merely said to be towns "on the north border of Israel;" and hence, on the assumption that the terms of the covenant were fully ratified of old, their places have been sought for in the immediate vicinity of the ancient borders, or even, as Hamath in the land of Naphtali, within the old Israelitish possessions.

It is not, indeed, said, or necessarily implied, that all the towns or places here mentioned lay on the *frontier* of the land, or were themselves bordering towns of Israel. The manner in which some of them are spoken of seems to imply the reverse. The entering in of Hamath manifestly, as repeatedly declared, forms the northern extremity, or border on the seacoast. But in the new allocation of the tribes it is written, "*From the north end* to the coast of the way of Hethlon, *as one goeth to Hamath*, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus *northward*, a portion for Dan." The border of Damascus northward is here named, not as the north border of Israel, but as the limit of a tribe which had its portion beyond it. And the mention of the way to Hamath, and other places from the *north end*, seems plainly to denote their relative position, if not towards the east border, to the south, or within the limits of the land.

Of these different names, scarcely any one has had a "local habitation" attached to it by commentators but Berothah alone; and, except of it, scarcely any mention is made of them in Scripture. It may thus be inferred, that as unnamed, if not unknown, they rather lay at no inconsiderable distance beyond Dan, than either near it, or within the old inheritance of any of the tribes. *Berothah* thus is incidentally mentioned when the distant conquests of David are recorded. When he smote Hadad-ezer, and recovered his *border* at the River Euphrates, and established his dominion there, "he took much brass from *Berothai*, a city of Hadad-ezer."* The proper *border* of Israel extended from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the entering in of Hamath as men go to *Berothah*. Berothai and Berothah, in these corresponding passages, pointing to the same locality, seem evidently identical; and as having pertained to David, it as manifestly lay on the borders which he went

* 2 Sam., viii., 3, 8.

to recover, or within the inheritance of Israel. This promise was given to the Israelites by the Lord: *Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours. From the River Euphrates to the uttermost sea shall your coast be.* David did establish his dominion by the Euphrates, and he was followed by thousands of Israel, whose feet did tread its banks, not as captives, but as conquerors; and Berothai was one of the cities which owned his dominion, and yielded up its spoil. The fixing of its site, therefore, may tend, in no mean degree, to the more precise determination of the actual *borders* of Israel.

On the principle of proximity to Palestine, and from the similarity of the name, *Beyrout*, the ancient Berytus, has been said to be *Berothah;* and hence an argument has been drawn for fixing the border there. The derivation which has been given to the word from Beeroth, *wells*, might seem, if correct, to warrant the appropriation. But the authority of Bochart, as alike high and here unprejudiced, may be freely appealed to; and the incidental testimony which he adduces from the famous Sanchoniathon, himself a native of Beyrout, might be accounted decisive, could the case in other respects admit of a question. We read in Scripture that the Israelites made Baal-berith their god. "Baal-berith, that is," says Bochart, "the idol of Beerith or Berytus," &c.; and as Beerith, in the Hebrew form, is always feminine, he thus quotes Sanchoniathon in order to prove that "Beerith, like Astarte and Astergetes, was the name of a goddess, and not of a god." Among them there was one called *Elion*, that is, the highest, and a woman called *Beruth* (that is, Berith), who dwelt near Byblus (namely, adds Bochart, Berytus), which was between Byblus and Sidon.* Such evidence, of unusual precision and force in such matters, might have set at rest the question of the origin of the name of Berytus, or Beyrout, which is thus bereaved of its chief claim to the title of Berothah.

The name of Beerith—or Bèrout of the Greeks—whom the Israelites worshipped after the death of Joshua, mav

* Ita hic *τὴν Βααλβερὶθ* dicamus res ipsa postulat, quia Hebraice בְּרִית *berith* semper est fœmininum. Proinde deæ non dei nomen fuit apud Phœnices, ut Astarte et Atergates. Quid quod Sanchoniathon ita asserit: *Κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος ὕψιστος καὶ Ϝήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούτ; οἱ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον, ἰὸς æqualis fuit quidam* עֶלְיוֹן *elion*, id est, *altissimus dictus, et fœmina dicta Beruth* (id est, Berith), *qui habitarunt circa Byblum*, nempe Beryti, quæ media est inter Byblum et Sidonem.—Bochart, Phaleg., 775.

hence supply a reason why the Israelites ceased to drive out their enemies before them, and why, therefore, the distance was so great between the reputed and real borders of the promised land, so that Berytus, though past the one, was far short of the other.

It is needless to enlarge on other and more direct proofs that Beyrout is not and cannot be Berothah.

Were not its maritime position fatal to its claim as the north borders of Israel, it would be left far to the south ere *a man came over against Hamath.* But Berothah, along with other towns, lies evidently inland, as the entering in of Hamath led to them *from the great sea*, and is not, like Beyrout, on its beach. It was situated in the kingdom of Hadad-ezer, which stretched along the Euphrates, and of which Phœnicia did not form a portion,* and not, like Beyrout, on the Phœnician coast, with the kingdoms of Hamath and Damascus intervening. And instead of either reaching the defined north border, or having its place on the opposite side from the sea, near the great river, Beyrout is above a hundred and fifty miles from the *north end* of the land of Hamath, and still farther from the nearest point of the Euphrates.

But on that river itself, near to the termination of the mountains of Amanus on the east, even as they stretch from thence to the great sea on the west, immediately north of the embouchure of the Orontes, there still exists an ancient town, which has a just title to the derivation which has been given to Berytus, without any transmutation, and which lacks nothing that can be needed to warrant its recognition as the Berothah of Scripture. *Beer*, or the Euphrates, is the *Birat* of the Arabs, and the Birtha of the Greeks. Beer, in the singular, literally signifies a *well*, and "in the plural, in Hebrew, *beeroth*, or in Arabic, *birath*, wells." It has for this very reason† been conjectured, we think, not without cause shown, erroneously, that such was the origin of the name of Berytus. But in respect to Beer on the Euphrates, no heathen goddess interposes to claim the name as her own; the word has its literal meaning, like Beer in Judea; and conjecture may be dispensed with when proof may be seen. Al *Birat* is described by Abulfeda as a strong and impregnable fortress on the banks of the Euphrates. In

* Nicolas of Damascus, quoted by Josephus, Ant., vii., 5, 2.
† Mr. G. Robinson; Travels, vol. ii., p. 321.

the note by his learned editor Koehler, the identity of the name and place is still more clearly marked. "It cannot be doubted," he states, "that this is the same as the Beer of Pococke. It is truly the Birtha of Hierocles. It was called by the same name by the Syrians, and was the town of which Sergius was bishop."* The Birtha, or Birath of the Arabs, may thus clearly be identified with the Berothah of the Hebrews. And its right to such a name is made good by the fact stated by Abulfeda, that it has a valley celebrated under the name of Wadi'z Zaituni, or valley of olives, which rejoices in trees and *fountains*.†

The goings out of the border shall be at Hazar-enan; this shall be your north border. The border from the sea shall be Hazar-enan. The portion of Dan is assigned, *From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hazar-enan*, &c.

Hazar-enan is described as lying to the north northward, or far north of Damascus; and it formed the goings out of the north border from the sea; and as that border necessarily extended to the River Euphrates, Hazar-enan, it may be inferred, reached unto it.

The kingdom of Hadad-ezer, which David subjected to his dominion when he went to recover his border on the Euphrates, and within which Berothah lay, constituted the northeastern part of Syria, beyond Damascus and Hamath. From the power and opulence of its king, from whom David took a thousand chariots, seven hundred horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen, and the shields of gold that were on his servants, it was evidently neither a poor nor diminutive region. The Euphrates was its border, as well as that of the promised land of Israel, and Nicolas, as already quoted, relates that his kingdom extended over Syria.

Although the author has sought in vain for the name of Hazar-enan in any accessible records concerning that or any other region, it is not unworthy of notice that *Comagene*, the extreme region of Syria on the northeast, where it ascended farthest on the Euphrates—on which river the goings out or termination of the north border necessarily lay—bore the name of *Azar*, as marked in the margin of Ptolemy's geography,‡ and expressly stated by Adrichomius.§

* Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 127. † Ibid. ‡ Ptol., Geogr., lib. v., 15, p. 159.
§ A Septemptrione quidem Comagena (regio Syriæ) hæc propius adjacet Ciliciæ,

The name, as thus written, is peculiar to that region, and, with the want of the aspirate alone, may be a mere abbreviation of that of *Hazar*-enan. It was also called *Euphratensis*, as Ptolemy and Adrichomius both relate; and while its position along the Euphrates is thus manifest, it as clearly lay to the west of that river, being included in Syria, and being distinguished from Mesopotamia and Armenia, which lay beyond it. Samoisat on the Euphrates, and Antioch near the Taurus, the modern *Aintab*, were mentioned among its cities, which, as Ptolemy, the prince of ancient geographers, states, were the first in order on the north of *Syria*.

According as it fell into the hands of different masters, Syria, at various times, was divided into more or fewer provinces. Of the five prefectures of Syria, as stated by Abulfeda, the first, beginning from the Euphrates, was Kinnesrin, or Kinaserin, which included other provinces besides Comagene. Kinnesrin, the Colchis of the Greeks and the Romans, was more anciently called Soba, and was identified with it both by Jewish and Arab writers, as stated by the learned Golius, in his notes on Alfergan. And hence, after the destruction of that city, when Aleppo became in its place the metropolis of that province, as for a long period of the pachalic, in the bonds and similar writings of the Jews of that country, they gave to Aleppo the title of Aram Soba, or Soba of Syria.* The kingdom of Zobah may thus be identified with the prefecture of Kinnesrin, or the pachalic of Aleppo. The mountains of Amanus on the north, and the Euphrates on the west, were its natural and actual boundaries, as they were also those of Syria. Nicolas of Damascus, as quoted by Josephus, relates that Hadad-ezer was lord of all Syria (excluding Palestine) except Phœnicia. And when David had smitten all the host of Hadad-ezer, and had garrisoned Damascus, the *Syrians became servants to David*,† and his dominion was extended over the dominions which he had subdued.

The site of Hazar-enan, as described in Scripture, is precisely accordant with that of the northeastern province of Syria. It lay to the *north northward*, or far north of Damascus, and it formed the outgoing, or termination on the

et a vicino sibi fluvio Euphrati, nunc Euphratensis, et Euphranis, a barbaris vero *Asar* dicitur.—Adrich., Theat. Sanctæ Terræ, p. 96.

* Golii Arfargan, p. 275.

† 1 Chron., xviii., 6.

east, of the north borders of Israel, that extended to the Euphrates. *Berothah* was a city within Israel's dominion, and the outgoings of the border, which it is not said to form, might well lie beyond it. And where else could they cease but with those of Syria, whose utmost region bore the name of *Azar*, and formed a portion, if not the whole, of the kingdom of Zobah, as of the province of Kinnesrin, the modern pachalic of Aleppo, to which also Aintab, Samoisat, and Beer pertain.

Long after the sceptre of Jerusalem had ceased to be swayed over the subservient kingdom of Syria, and ten tribes had revolted, and Jews and Benjamites alone bowed before the throne of the house of David, and when the daughter of Jerusalem cried out aloud, Micah prophesied, "Unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem."* Warrantably, therefore, may we search for the border of that kingdom where David went to recover his. The Israelites assuredly should occupy, as their own inheritance, all the land possessed by the *Syrians*, and in which they served David. And as on every other side the promised land passed the bounds of Syria, there is still farther cause to show why they cannot come short of them on the *north border*, where alone, from the want of knowledge of the precise localities of some of the various places which seem to mark it, proof may appear to be wanting.

In the scriptural description of the north border, the names of various places occur, which hence alone have been supposititiously placed along the ancient frontier on a line with Dan, which certainly formed it. But the testimony of Scripture concerning these places requires to be definitely marked.

It is declared that the border from the sea shall be Hazar-enan, or, as otherwise expressed, that the goings out of it—or the extremity of the north border on the east, or the Euphrates—shall be at Hazar-enan. And we have seen that in that very region, on the opposite end of the same mountain range, the same province bore the names of Euphratensis and Azar, and lay within the kingdom of Zobah, which David subdued when he went to recover his *border* on the River Euphrates.

Other places are spoken of in connexion with the en-

* Micah, iv., 8.

trance into Hamath, or with the north end of the coast, rather than as of themselves frontier towns. From the very high mountain pointed out from the sea, ye shall point out unto the entrance of Hamath; and "the goings forth of the border shall be to Zedad, and the border shall go on to Ziphron,"* &c. "This shall be the border of the land towards the north side, from the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad; Hamath, Berothah, Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath."† "From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, as one goeth to Hamath, Hazar-enan, the border of Damascus northward, to the coast of Hamath, for these are his sides east and west, a portion for Dan."‡

Of Berothah, which has its place not only among these names, but also among the cities which David took, we have already spoken; and it may here supply an illustration, how words that are seemingly incomprehensible may be read and understood as most literally true.

Thus, on the supposition that Beyrout is Berothah, what meaning can be attached to these terms, *from the great sea —and as men go to Berothah*, when the fact is, that in disembarking from that sea, men touch it at a step? But when men, even from a distant isle of the Gentiles, purpose to go to Beer, or Berothah, and point to Mount Casius as their first landmark, and disembark at the *entrance* of the Orontes, what do we read of their first work, and of their farther progress, when, as in the case of the Euphrates Expedition, they pass from the Mediterranean to Beer on the Euphrates?

"In the neighbourhood of Amelia depôt the points of most interest were the course of the Orontes, examined by Lieutenant Cleveland, Messrs. Eden, Calderwood, and Fitz-James, &c. These gentlemen, in conjunction with Messrs. Hector and Bell, were in turns employed on different points, *repairing and widening the road from the mouth of the Orontes* to Antioch, &c. Lieutenant Lynch was employed in improving *the line of route* from Antioch by Jisr Hadid to Bir"§ (Beer).

Few such words form a clear and conclusive commentary; and, thus passed by British engineers, the road from

* Ezek., xlviii., 1. † Num., xxxiv., 8, 9. ‡ Ezek., xlvii., 15, 16.
§ Colonel Chesney on *the Expedition to the Euphrates*, Geogr. Journal, vol. vii., p. 415.

the entrance into Hamath, and from thence *as men go to Berothah*, may no longer be a mystery among biblical critics.

But other cities are named besides Berothah, though in other directions, to which the same *entrance* led from the sea.

From the great sea, the way of Hethlon, *as men go to Zedad*, *Hadad*, Berothah, &c. From the north end to the coast of the way of Hethlon, *as one goeth to Hamath*, Hazarenan, &c.

From the same point different lines of communication, "roads," or "lines of route," led to the north, and in other directions, as well as to the east; to Hamath, &c., as well as to Berothah.

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the entrance into Hamath, that there is no other on the north or on the west by which to pass, without crossing mountains, from the Mediterranean. For this reason it was chosen by Colonel Chesney, and fixed on by Bonaparte, when he purposed to go to the Euphrates. "In 1811," says Colonel Chesney, "Napoleon had prepared a fleet at Toulon, which was to have disembarked a large force in this bay; and M. Vincent Germain was waiting at Antioch for the expected troops, which had, in the mean time, been marched to Russia instead of taking the route from Suweidiyah to India. Marash was to have been the centre of his operations, probably on account of the fine forests near that town; but as the Beilan Mountains would have furnished plenty of fine timber close at hand, it is not likely that this great captain would have gone to Marash, *when* 110 *miles through Antioch and Aleppo would have placed him at Beles*, 200 *miles lower down the river*. There is reason to presume that Bonaparte meant to carry his troops down the river to Basrah. But the Russian campaign put an end to this."*

Whether men were to go from the Mediterranean to Beer or to Beles, the route lay through the entrance into Hamath. And that entrance had to be passed in like manner in going from the north end of the land of Israel, and advancing southward to Hamath, or to the border of Damascus. In the former direction there is a plain which spreads forth towards ancient towns on the Euphrates; and in the latter, the valley of the Orontes, into which, though wholly shut in by a *hill-country* from access to the sea, other valleys

* Geograph. Journal, vol. viii., p. 234.

and plains open to the eastward. The termination of the entrance into Hamath is thus a radiating point, from which various lines of communication stretched out to distant and widely-separated cities. Thus, when the Euphrates Expedition passed through the entrance into Hamath, a new road was not made, even for the transit of very heavy materials, but the old road was widened and repaired; and again from Antioch to Bir the line of route was improved. In like manner, in going from the *same entrance*, or from the north end of the land, and, consequently, southward, an ancient Itinerary* shows the way, and marks the distances from Antioch to *Hamath*, between which cities there was a Roman, and, doubtless, more ancient road. A view of the valley of the Orontes, near to Apamea, given in Burckhardt's map, shows a "Roman road" passing through its centre, and which is marked at the southern extremity of the chart, the *road to Hamah*.

Sŭdŭd, a large village, situated to the northwest of Palmyra, and north of a mountain range that stretches eastward in the direction of that ancient city, was visited by Mr. Eli Smith in 1834, and identified by him with *Zedad*. Two mountain ranges lie between it and the Mediterranean; but, if the writer errs not, it may be reached without passing one, by the valley of the Orontes. It is marked by Mr. Smith in the list of names of places between Deir Atiych and Ed-Deir on the Euphrates.†

The site of Hethlon, or of any city of that name, is unknown. The manner in which it is mentioned, in the only two places in which it occurs in Scripture, in connexion with Zedad and Hamath, is deserving of notice. "From the great sea, the way of Hethlon, as men go to Zedad, Hamath," &c. The definition of the border of Dan thus begins. "From the north end to the coast by the way of Hethlon, *as one goeth to Hamah*," &c. The first letter of the name Hethlon being ח, *cheth*, not ה, *he*, Chethlon would be the more correct pronunciation. Abulfeda speaks of a mountain, or hill, Al *Chaith*,‡ near Apamea, in the valley of the Orontes. And in the view given by Burckhardt of that part of the valley, a village is marked, called *Houyeth* (evidently the same name, and in the same locality, as that

* Itin. Antonini.
† Robinson and Smith's Researches in Palestine, vol. iii., App., p. 174.
‡ Abulfedæ, Tab. Syriæ, p 123, 223.

mentioned by Abulfeda), and also a small lake, Ayn *Houyeth*, beside which passed the Roman road from Antioch to Hamath. לן, *ln*, *lun*, signifies to stay or abide, &c., as a name derived from it, Me-lun, a place to lodge and stay in (2 Kings, xix., 23; Josh., iv., 8), and the name may have thus suffered abbreviation. Chaith lay in the way from the entrance into Hamath, both to Zedad and Hamath; though, after passing it, the way by which men went, and may yet go, to the former likely diverged to the eastward.

Sibraim and Hazar-hatticon are also unknown; but the former lay *between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath*, and the other on the *coast of Hauran*. They were cities to which men went from the *north end* of the land, but, obviously, they did not form part of it. The *Hauran* here named is supposed to have been the same as Aurana of Ptolemy, a town on the Euphrates, as noted in the margin in various editions of his Geography.* The only name at all similar to Sibraim, which the author has been able to discover, is that of a village, or ruined town, in the mountains of Rieha, in Burckhardt's list,† Zer *Szabber*, the plural termination of which in Hebrew would be *Szabberim*. Were *it* the Sibraim, which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath, though *the entrance* into the land would remain unaltered, the fact would be in accordance with the opinion of the Jews, that Antioch, not Epiphania, was the capital of Hamath.

The only other place named is Ziphron, of which it is peculiarly said, And *the border shall go on to Ziphron*. It would seem to be still unascertained. Jerome supposed it to be Zephurium on the Cilician coast.‡ If such it were, the passes of the Taurus would be in the hands of the Israelites; and the region of Adana, on the Cilician coast, by contending for which Mohammed Ali lost Syria, would be a portion of the coast of Israel, without their passing the mountain chain of Taurus and Amanus.

The Taurus or Amanus were believed by the Jews to be the Hor-ha-hor of Scripture, and were thus held by them to be the northern frontier of the land promised to their fathers. But, though Hor-ha-hor admits of a more precise definition, the idea that the Amanus, which Jerome adopted, was the north border of Israel, is, as we have seen, warranted by many other facts. Biblical critics and geographers, such

* Ptolem., lib. v., c. 19. † Burck., Syria, p. 130. ‡ Tom. v., p. 598.

as Bochart, Poole, Cellarius, Reland, &c., in looking alone to the ancient borders, and utterly disowning any other, stigmatized the idea as absurd and "ridiculous," as assuredly it would have been had the borders of the land in which the Israelites dwelt, and that which the Lord promised to Abraham, been one and the same. In not distinguishing things that differ, they overlooked the covenant and the promises of God; and in ridiculing what they accounted Jewish pretensions as idle fables, though these were false in respect to the past, they forgot that, in respect to the future, this arrogance was theirs—while they denied that Israel had any part in Amanus—a wiser than Solomon is here!

Solomon's dominion, though only the *image* of that which shall yet be restored to Israel, may serve as the measure of its borders. The sovereign lord of Hamath and of Zobah, and of cities on the Euphrates beyond them, was not ignorant of Amana (or Amanus), nor does he keep silence concerning it in his prophetic song. The figure is common to the prophets, that, as the bridegroom rejoiceth over his bride, so will the Lord rejoice over Israel. The very land shall be called *Beulah*, or married. "Go," saith the prophet, "and proclaim these words towards the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord; and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you; for I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not keep anger forever. Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, *for I am married unto you.* I will bring you unto Zion. At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord."* Israel is "the married wife."† How aptly to these words of the prophets do those also of Solomon apply: "Come with me from Lebanon, *my spouse*, with me from Lebanon; *look from the top of Amana.*"‡

The mountains of Amanus, as Strabo relates, extend from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. They formed the northern boundary of Syria, the northernmost of whose lands were those of Hamath and of the kingdom of Hadad-ezer on the Euphrates, within which was Berothah. They were thus from end to end the northern and natural boundary of the dominion of David and Solomon, as also of Syria, which they separated from Cilicia. Beir is distant, in a direct line, a hundred and thirty-three miles from the mouth of the Orontes, and touching the one on the entrance into Hamath on the west, and bordering also on the east with the other, the range

* Jer., iii., 12, 14, 17. † Isa., lvi., 1. ‡ Song of Solomon, iii., 8.

of Amanus is Nature's own barrier, which shuts in the land, and forms a boundary defined as any can be. Amanus, says Cotovicus, who himself looked from the top of it, as we shall hereafter see, extends for a great space like an overhanging wall, and separates Cilicia from Assyria—*Amanus instar muri imminentissimi, per longissima spatia sese extendit et Ciliciam a Syria disterminat.** Such a noble Alpine barrier from the east side to the west side is a worthy boundary of "the glorious land;" and it hems in at once *all the land of the Canaanites, all the land of the Giblites,* all the land of Hamath, and the ancient kingdom of Hadad-ezer, while *the entrance into Hamath* is its scriptural witness on one side, and *Berothah* on the other. Fronting Mount Casius, near the base of which is *Laodicea,* in the land of the Arvadites, it forms the *north end* of that land; fronting also the wider valley of the Orontes in the interior, it forms the north end of the land of Hamath, and turns back its river, though long "rebellious" and reversed, and sends it at length direct towards *the sea;* while on the east it reaches towards the Euphrates, and a high mountain range passes that river above Bir, to which the Euphrates is navigable from the Persian Gulf. From *that river to the uttermost sea* (or the extremity, may we not say, of the Mediterranean on the north, for there the Euphrates most nearly approaches it), a mountain chain extends, which, though with separate branches, forms a continuous barrier. Of the Amanus and Rhosus, or the Jawur Dagh and Akma Dagh, Mr. Ainsworth states, that "the two chains are nominally separated by the pass of Beilan; but they are, in reality, continuous with one another. The Jawur Dagh attains a greater altitude than the Akma Dagh, the culminating points being to the north. The average elevation of the Akma Dagh is a little more than 5000 feet above the Mediterranean; that of the Jawur Dagh is from 5000 to 6000 feet."† The pass of Beilan, instead of being a valley with a navigable stream like that of the Orontes on the lip of the ocean, is 1584 feet above the Mediterranean.‡

Here, then, at the termination of the plain of Phœnicia and the land of Hamath, is a boundary which is as marked as that of the Nile; and the geographical features of the land unite with the scriptural records in proof that it is also a *boundary* along all the *north end* of the land, respecting which, as was said of that river, "there can be no dispute."

* Cotaici Itin., p. 502. † Ainsworth's Assyria, p. 313. ‡ Ibid., note.

But if there should be any doubt or dispute, both might vanish at the word *Amana*, as *written* in the holy oracles, like many others, *for a time to come*. In prophetic vision, if not in fact—we believe, assuredly, the former—Zion's king could speak of looking, not alone, from the top of Amana. In either case, the conclusion is irresistible, that the land of Israel, intercepted by no other, was from thence in immediate view. And as Antioch was said to be the *apex* of Syria, the word Amana may crown the argument that the border of Israel is here.

Though that word occurs but once in Scripture, it is associated, as we have seen, with a figure common to the prophets, and which recurs again and again in the Old Testament and in the New, the significancy of which admits not of a doubt. And we are taught to look from what Israel is, to what Israel shall be when the Lord shall be unto her a *husband* again.

"I will make her that halteth a remnant, and her that was cast far off a strong nation, and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth, even forever. And thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem."* Solomon, in the full extent of his kingdom, and in all his glory, could not utter words that shall not be realized in greater glory then. And when the first dominion and the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem, and that city shall be called the throne of the Lord, and when she shall put on her *beautiful garments*, and be adorned *like a bride for her husband*, who that has passed from Dan to the north end of Hamath, without touching a foot of ground that is not, according to the covenant, Israelitish soil, and sees the mountains of Amanus, with the sought-for entrance on the shores of the Mediterranean on the one end, and Berothah on the banks of the Euphrates on the other, can say that Israel's heritage does not reach to the natural frontier of Syria on the north? And although, in past times, biblical critics, groping darkly around the ancient limits, controverted the testimony of the heirs of the promise, and denied that the borders of Israel reach to Amanus, what power on earth can controvert the word, or frustrate the purpose of the Lord, when, as if himself declaring the difference between the an-

* Micah, iv., 7, 8.

cient and everlasting borders of his people, He shall say to Israel, as her *husband* and her *king*, "Come with ME from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon; look with me *from the top of Amana*, from the top of Shenir and Hermon?" Who can say that, in obeying the command, she would pass her proper borders, though Dan were left far behind; or look on any other land than her own between Amana and Lebanon? And who, beholding the mountain range, as it rises high like a bounding *wall*, may not conceive a literal significancy in the description of the land as a *garden enclosed*, as these everlasting hills await the time when the land shall be, as other prophets tell, like the *garden of the Lord?*

SECTION IV.

THE SOUTH BORDER.

Having passed far beyond *Dan* in search of the northern frontier, it is not at Beersheba that we are to look for that of the south. Yet here, again, the conflicting opinion has to be met, that Israel has no other boundaries than those of old; and the bounds that were set on the south, as those of the inheritance of the Israelites when they entered Canaan, have been held as identified with the utmost limits of the kingdom of Israel.

But not only did the sentence go forth against the Israelites, when they proved faithless in the covenant, and when they were slack to go in and possess the land, that the Lord would no more drive out their enemies before them, but their *prescribed* borders on their first entrance were not the same as those which the promises of God have set around their final and everlasting inheritance. Ammon and Moab, beyond Jordan and the Dead Sea, lay to the south of the trans-Jordanic tribes. Concerning the south boundary of the other tribes, it is thus written: "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, when ye come unto the land of Canaan, then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom, and your south border shall be the outmost coast of the SALT SEA eastward, and your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass on to Zin: and the going forth thereof shall be from the south to Kadesh-barnea,"* &c.

* Numb., xxxiv., 1-4.

The salt sea, the outermost coast of which anciently formed a boundary on the *south*, is doubtless the Dead Sea, "in the vale of Siddim."* When the Israelites passed the Jordan, "the waters that came down towards the sea of the plain, even the *salt sea*, failed,"† &c. The whole land of Edom was thus excluded. And the border was then set at the distance of at least a degree and a half of latitude, or, in a line directly north, more than a hundred miles from the nearest point of the Red Sea, by which the Lord had promised to set the bounds of Israel.

Joshua recorded the words of the Lord touching the southern border of the land when the Israelites under the law entered Canaan. Ezekiel records that which the Lord hath said, in declaring what are the borders whereby Israel shall inherit the land, concerning which the Lord lifted up his hand unto their fathers. *And the south side southward, from Tamar even unto the waters of strife in Kadesh, the river to the great sea.*‡

That Kadesh lay to the *south* of Edom may be clear from those passages of Scripture in which it is spoken of in connexion with the Red Sea. Kadesh was the intermediate station between Ezion-gaber and Mount Hor, as the multitudinous hosts of Israel advanced to the *south* border of Edom. "*They removed from Ezion-gaber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh. And they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in Mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom.*"§ And after their long wanderings in the desert had ended, and the time had come when the Edomites dared no longer refuse them a passage through their coast, their departure from Kadesh is thus narrated: "So ye abode in Kadesh many days. Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness, by the way of the *Red Sea*, as the Lord spake unto me; and we compassed Mount Seir many days. And the Lord spake unto me, saying, Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you *northward*. And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to *pass through the coast of your brethren*, the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, and they shall be afraid of you: meddle not with them,"‖ &c. From Kadesh they took

* Genesis, xiv., 3. † Joshua, iii., 16. ‡ Ezekiel, xlvii., 19.
§ Numb., xxxiii., 36, 37. ‖ Deut., i., 46; ii., 1–5.

their journey by the way of the Red Sea, and they passed northward (or from the south) through the coast of the Edomites. And the same journey, when over, is thus described: "When we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, *through the way of the plain from Elath and from Ezion-gaber*, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab."*

There is thus a perfect accordance between the exclusion of Edom at a time when the children of Judah were not to receive so much as a foot-breadth of that land, and the appointment of the Dead Sea for their border; and also, on the other hand, between the prophetic annunciation that Edom shall be a possession, and the promise that the Lord will set their bounds, not, as of old, by the Dead Sea, but by the Red Sea. There is, too, a strictly analogous diversity between the inheritance of Israel with Beersheba for its southern extremity, and the kingdom of Solomon, with Ezion-gaber as his port, or the journeying of the Israelites from Kadesh by the way of the Red Sea and of the plain from Eloth and Ezion-gaber. Edom was tributary to David and to Solomon, and owned their supremacy. But, great as was the glory of the kingdom of Israel then, it only prefigured a greater. And the kingdom yet to be restored cannot be circumscribed by narrower bounds, or acknowledge as its own, on the south any more than on the north, the ancient border of Judah or of Dan.

Thus obviously the future and actual allocation of the tribes, when, under the everlasting covenant, they shall inherit the land, is altogether different from that which subsisted at a time when they were expressly prohibited from occupying as their own the smallest portion of the lands of Edom, or Moab, or Ammon, whose territories are as expressly and ultimately assigned to them, as included in the promises.

Joshua, who held forth the law like an iron rod, spake not concerning the borders of the tribes of Israel as did Ezekiel the prophet, who, as a herald, bore the banner of a better covenant. In Joshua's days, seven tribes, or more than half of Israel, had not received their inheritance. That of Judah was planted as its lot was cast, on

* Deut., ii., 8.

the southern extremity of the land which was then assigned them. No other tribe lay between it and the coast of Edom, or the extremity of the Dead Sea, to the south of which the restricted border of Israel did not pass. But when the twelve tribes shall all inherit the land, and each have its portion, the one as well as the other, according to the covenant of God with their fathers, the lot shall not be cast as on their first entrance into Canaan, but beyond its bounds, as well as including all the land of the Canaanites; every tribe shall possess its inheritance as that of each has been appointed, successively from north to south, and extending from east to west, as the Lord himself has assigned them. Judah is his lawgiver, and shall still inherit Jerusalem. But the kingdom shall be rent no more. And the portion of Judah has its appointed place, not on the outskirts of the other tribes, but rather in the centre, with six tribes to the north, and five to the south. Of its relative position in regard to the last of these, we read, "The border of Judah, from the east side to the west side, &c. As for the rest of the tribes, from the east side unto the west side, Benjamin shall have a portion. And by the border of Benjamin, from the east side unto the west side, Simeon shall have a portion. And by the border of Simeon, from the east side unto the west side, Issachar a portion. And by the border of Zebulon, from the east side unto the west side, Gad a portion. And by the border of Gad, at the south side southward, the border shall be even from Tamar unto the waters of strife in Kadesh, and to the river towards the great sea. This is the land which ye shall divide by lot unto the tribes of Israel for inheritance, and these are their portions, saith the Lord God."*

But the fixing of the south border of the land respects not these regions alone, or the length of the land of Edom, against which the sentence of desolation has gone forth; but, by the extension of the bounds of Israel from the Dead Sea, as they were fixed in the covenant made under the law, to the Red Sea, by which they shall be set, an equal space to that of the difference in latitude between these seas is thereby included from north to

* Ezekiel, xlviii., 23-29.

south, throughout all the breadth of the land, where it is measured by more than a thousand miles.

The separate portions of each and all of the tribes of Israel, as appointed by the Lord, but never yet possessed for a day, beginning from the north, extend successively, in obviously parallel departments, from *the east side to the west side*, till the boundary line of the last passes through Kadesh, and touches the Red Sea. Were the site of that town midway between that of Ezion-gaber and Mount Hor, as its intermediate station might indicate, still a line from east to west, passing through it, would touch the northern point of the Gulf of Suez, on the one side before reaching the Nile, and that of the Persian Gulf upon the other, where the Euphrates enters it. But, situated as Kadesh was, to the south of Edom, and journeying, as Israel did, from thence at the command of the Lord, by the way of the Red Sea, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-gaber on the Elanitic Gulf of that sea, the latter town, which was a port of Solomon's, may rightfully pertain to the kingdom to be restored to Israel, and form the border of the inheritance, or the bounds by which they were set. And within such bounds, extending in all the latitude which the Lord has given them, who can tell how many thousands of the seed of Jacob shall find ample space in the five portions south of that of Judah, when the word of the Lord to Abraham shall be fulfilled, and *the River* of Egypt *to the great sea*, and the River Euphrates, be the borders of the inheritance of Israel?

As the south border cannot come short of the Red Sea, by which the Lord hath set it, so neither, in passing from the east side to the west side, can it come short of the west bank of the Euphrates.

There is a remarkable coincidence in the respective latitudes of the northern extremities of the Red Sea, and of the Persian Gulf, into which the Euphrates flows. Suez is 30° 10′, Ailah 29° 33′, on the shore of the Elanitic Gulf. The Euphrates enters the Persian Gulf in lat. 30°.*

The reader, directing his eye across the map, may thus point out for himself the bounding line along the *south side* of Israel's inheritance.

* Map in Ainsworth's Assyria.

Though not essential to our subject, the remark may here be pardonable, that while upon the north a mountain range, rising like a lofty wall, divides the inheritance of Israel from the land of the Gentiles, and sets a most conspicuous barrier between *them*, nothing but an ideal line, though well defined, passes along the open southern frontier. But, unlike the other, that line separates between none but the seed of Abraham; and the Lord has not placed a mountainous barrier or any other there. The covenant has respect to the time when Hagar's son shall be brought back to Abraham's house —the household of the faithful—though not to Israel's peculiar heritage. The children of the bondwoman, in bondage no longer, shall rejoice together with the free. Kedar and Nebaioth were sons of Ishmael. And concerning Israel, when returned unto their God, and to the land which He hath given them, it is said, "*All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee; they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory.*"* When the promise was given that the everlasting covenant would be established with Isaac, it was not in vain that Abraham prayed unto God: "O that Ishmael may live before thee!" For the answer was given, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee. Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation."† The promise of the Lord was not forgotten, though Hagar and her son —types of their descendants through many ages—were cast out to *wander in the wilderness.* The Arabs boast of their descent from Ishmael, as do the Israelites of theirs from Jacob. Abraham was their common father; and, as descended from him, they all are *brethren.* Hitherto the fate of the Arab has been strikingly prophetic, as was the character of Ishmael, as given by the angel of the Lord before his birth—a wild man, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him. But the prophetic word did not stop with the enunciation of the character of his wild and warlike race. A blessing follows it, more in consonance with the blessing of the Lord on Ishmael. The continued

* Isaiah, lx., 7. † Gen., xvii., 20.

independence of his descendants, marked as it has been, instead of being, as heretofore accounted, the sole completion of the promise, may prove but secondary, as preparatory to its full accomplishment, when the very words, in which the blessing to both the sons of Abraham shall themselves tell, in the simplicity of truth, their full significancy, and even as Israel's seed shall possess the land, Ishmael's—their wildness and their wanderings ceased, and the desert itself a desert no more—*shall* DWELL *in the presence of their brethren.** And thus it is, we may warrantably say, that on the south border, where they meet, there is no barrier between them—no physical obstacle in the way, when all moral obstacles shall be removed, to hinder the flocks of Nebaioth and of Kedar from going freely—without either a mountain range or a stream to be passed, as on the other sides—as an offering unto the Lord, into the land of Israel. That the brotherly covenant was broken between Jacob and Esau, the desolation of Edom shall tell forever. But that it never was broken between Isaac and Ishmael, the free ingress and egress to each other's lands may be as enduring a memorial.

When Abraham dwelt in Mesopotamia, God said unto him, Get thee into *a land that I will show thee.* He heard, believed, and went. When Isaac's name, a year before his birth, was told him by the Lord, and the promise made with *him*, the pitying father pled for the son he already had, and whom he loved: and Ishmael too was blessed; the prayer was heard that he might live before the Lord. Abraham, in sending Hagar away, took bread and a bottle of water, and put it on her shoulder. Thus she departed, and going *southward*, wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.† Her seed, according to the word of the angel, has multiplied exceedingly, that it cannot be numbered for multitude.‡ Abraham himself individually has a blessing in the covenant, distinct from the promise of the inheritance to his seed; and spiritual blessings, not limited to any race, but branching forth in rich fruitfulness to all, are also involved in it, as they formed its final end. Of these it is not our present province to speak. But, standing on the southern portion of Israel, between the families of Abraham's

* Gen., xvi., 12. † Gen., xxi., 14. ‡ Ibid., xvi., 10.

two sons, as they shall yet be seen by a world blessed in the seed of Isaac, who so blind as not to perceive how rich is the promise to faith and the answer to prayer? The River of Egypt to the sea, its shores to the entrance into Hamath, the Amanian Mountains rising like a wall, and extending from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, that great river, the Persian Gulf, into which it flows, the Arabian Sea, and the Red Sea, enclose the united territory of the two sons of Abraham, which forms no mean part of the habitable globe. No region can be more definitely marked than that which thus pertains, by covenanted title, to the seed of Isaac, and that which pertains in actual possession, as Arabia does, to the seed of Ishmael.

SECTION V.

THE EAST BORDER.

The only question farther to be resolved respecting the borders of the promised land, is that concerning the respective boundaries *on the east* of these two families of Abraham.

Were the northern and southern borders of Israel truly ascertained, those on the east, like those on the west, formed not of land, but of water, either a great river or the sea, would be easily determined.

The heritage of Jacob, as oft repeated in the original covenant, extends from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates, and also, on the north, from the Euphrates to the uttermost sea. That great river from Berothah, or the extremity of the land in which it stands, necessarily forms the boundary on the east. This is not only expressed in the promise, but has been manifested in fact. David, whose throne shall be established forever, recovered the borders of his kingdom on the Euphrates; and Solomon, who also reigned over all Israel, maintained a supremacy and sovereignty over all the kings on the east of the Euphrates. If the heart of that monarch, who once was wise, because in faith he asked for wisdom, had been steadfast in the covenant, and had not departed from the Lord, his kingdom would not have been rent in the hands of his son, as was the garment of Jeroboam by the prophet of the Lord. But

from his history, and that of his father David, it plainly appears, that whenever a gleam of hope broke in upon the dark and evil days that summed up the history of an else rebellious race, in which the covenant was shrouded from view, no other borders were recognised by these two kings, who alone reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel, than the Lord had assigned, whether from the shores of the Red Sea to the entrance into Hamath, or from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates; and they rested not from maintaining their dominion till *all the kings* on that side of the *Euphrates* owned their sovereignty.

The east border necessarily commences where it first comes in contact with the north on that river, and it can terminate only at the eastern extremity of the south border. How far it ascended the Euphrates we have already seen; and its point of contact with that of the south alone remains to be shown.

Let a line be drawn from the Nile in a straight line, east and west, setting *the bounds by the Red Sea*, and it will be apparent that, whether the Gulf of Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, be only touched, the southeastern border of the land of promise is not reached till the Euphrates pours its streams into the Persian Gulf.

After describing the *north border*, Ezekiel adds, *And the east side ye shall measure from Hauran, and from Damascus, and from Gilead, and from the land of Israel by Jordan,* FROM THE BORDER TO THE EAST SEA. *And this is the east side.*

It is too late, we trust, to tell the reader, as commentators of great name have said, that the east sea is the Dead Sea, because it lies to the east of Jerusalem. Were there any truth in this, the previous pages would be the record of a dream, and "the breadth of Immanuel's land," instead of a thousand, would be restricted, at the utmost, to sixty miles; and skeptics might still scoff at the diminutive inheritance. But in the record concerning the borders of the land, as anciently possessed, the *Dead Sea* is unquestionably mentioned under its proper scriptural name of the *Salt Sea;* and though on its northern extremity it did lie to the east of Jerusalem, it is nowhere in Scripture denominated the east sea. Even at the time when it formed, on the extreme south, the southern border of Judah, instead

of being the *east side*, two tribes and a half of Israel had their wide portions wholly to the eastward of it, and of the Jordan which flowed into it, not from the west, but from the north. And whatever was its relative position to Jerusalem, it never had a name from hence; and if it had, yet from the Hauran, and the land of Israel by Jordan, which, even in ancient days, reached of right to the Euphrates, the Dead Sea lay to the west, and not to the east. *From the Hauran, and Damascus, and from Gilead, and the land of Israel by (beyond) Jordan*, all the land, according to the covenant, and to the dominion of David and Solomon, pertained to Israel on that side the Euphrates. And, according to the prophetic definition given by Ezekiel of the east side in all its length, *from the border* (the north border, which he had immediately before specified) *to the east sea*, the east side and the south side thus terminated in the same sea, the Persian Gulf, which is worthy of the name, for where the Euphrates enters it, it is far wider than the Red Sea.

As the west side is marked *from the border till a man come over against Hamath*, or, as otherwise defined, to the entrance into Hamath, and the extreme breadth of the northern boundary from the *River Euphrates to the uttermost sea*, and the whole breadth of the land where widest in its southern region, from the River of Egypt to the great River Euphrates, so, as alone wanting to determine the length of all the borders, that on the east is defined, in all its extent, *from the border to the east sea.*

The east sea is here represented as the terminating point, on the extreme south, of the east border, precisely as the entrance into Hamath, or the mountains which bound it, forms the termination of the western border on the north. A corresponding definition is thus given of both sides of the land: in the one case, from the border on the south to the entrance into Hamath; and, on the other, *from the border* on the north *to the east sea.*

When "the tenants" of the rock in Kedar's wilderness afar shall sing the praises of Israel's God, and go, like men from all nations of the earth, with their offerings to Jerusalem, to worship there; and when fountains shall spring up in the desert, and the thirsty land be as a pool of water, the sons of Ishmael—though, like that at which Hagar sat, they can now count every well

of the desert their own—will not then, as did Lot's servants with Abraham's, dispute with the restored and redeemed sons of Jacob about a well or a border.

The borders which the Lord hath set are such that they cannot fail to be finally recognised by all the sons of Adam, as well as by the descendants of Abraham. If a question should arise respecting their limits, it could only be with Assyria or Egypt—how far they might extend on the Euphrates, or penetrate into the land of the Pharaohs, if the term were questionable, on the *River of Egypt*. But higher destinies than those even of such renowned kingdoms, in all their ancient power and pre-eminence among nations, are resolved in the allotment of the territorial patrimony of the seed of Jacob. And the Lord their God, who gave the land unto them for an everlasting possession, has secured it against the interference of another Sennacherib, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Pharaoh. The time is yet to come of which it is said, "In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and *the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians*. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land (or the earth); whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."*

In the beginning of their history the Israelites were slaves in Egypt, as their fathers had been strangers in the land of promise. In after ages, the kingdom of Israel, as distinct from that of Judah, was destroyed by the hosts of the King of Assyria, and ever since the ten tribes have been the outcasts of Israel. In later times, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, the Assyrians and Egyptians alternately tyrannized over them generation after generation: and in their past history the prediction has been reversed rather than realized. But it looked forward to the time when Israel shall be the inheritance of the Lord, and their land shall be the undisputed inheritance of Israel; when, no longer trampled on, or held in servile bond-

* Isaiah, xix., 23-25.

age and slavish fear, those whom they served shall serve them, and they shall be a blessing to those who were a curse to them. That subject has not to be touched on here, but merely as connected with the allotted territory to be held without controversy as their own. But it may be seen that, while widely distant bounds mark out the inheritance which the Lord has given them, their authority shall pass these borders, and that the inhabitants of the once mighty kingdoms which environed their land and made it alternately their prey, shall honour them as a people greatly blessed of the Lord; and Egypt and Assyria, united to it as to a central body, shall spread out on each side, in blessedness and beauty, as the wings of that land which was given by the covenant of the Lord to the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

The reader, if hitherto accustomed to the dark and narrow antiquarian tract, may be startled at the sight of so extensive regions opening at once to his view, as pertaining to Israel, though stretching so far beyond the bounds of the land ever possessed under the law. But it is to be remembered that it is the lot of the Lord's inheritance, to which He has appointed such borders; and that it is as such that Egypt and Assyria, as its tributary states, shall be *blessed*, and Arabia be "the happy" (Arabia Felix), when its own people shall dwell within it, in presence of all their brethren, the children of Israel.

In respect to their own land, according to the covenant with their fathers, it is not to be forgotten that great, in the extent as well as duration of the blessings that can be realized under them, is the difference between the law and the Gospel—between what even a chosen people ever could secure on the ground of their merit, or their own performance of the conditions of a legal covenant, and that which God freely *gives* to his believing, and, therefore, obedient children, who receive the blessings as all of *promise*, according to the word of the Lord at the beginning, "To *thee have I given* this land and to thy seed forever, from the River of Egypt to the great River Euphrates."

Wherever there is any faith in God's promises or in his word, it cannot but be conceded that it is not a *lit-*

tle land which the Lord of the whole earth hath called *large*, and that there is a difference, and a great one too, between the borders which bounded Palestine of old, and the whole land which was the bequest of the Lord to the seed of Jacob. For when the borders of the former were set, where they ever after stood, the Lord himself said, *There yet remaineth very much land to be possessed.*

How very much difference there really was between Palestine, as occupied by the Israelites, and all the PROMISED LAND, as worthy of the name, and how the land is truly large, as the Lord hath spoken the word, the difference of latitude and longitude between the borders on the various sides may enable the reader at once to determine.

The latitude of Beersheba is 31° 15′; of Dan, 33° 15′; the difference, *two* degrees. The south point of the Dead Sea, the ancient border of Israel, is 31° 7′, in the same longitude with Dan, the intervening distance, in a line from north to south, being 128 geographical, or about 150 English miles.

The latitude of the north point of the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea, on which Ezion-gaber, a port of Solomon's, stood, is 29° 31′. The mouth of the Orontes, or the entrance into Hamath from the Mediterranean, is 36°, and that of Beer, or Berothah, on the Euphrates, 37°. But the range of Amanus lies beyond it, and the medium longitude of the north boundary is more than 36° 31′ N., or, in an ideal line from south to north, the length of the land is upward of seven degrees, or five hundred miles, instead of a hundred and fifty, as of old.

But "the *breadth* of Immanuel's land," instead of being contracted to a span, is still more worthy of the name, and it stops not short of a navigable frontier everywhere and on every side. The longitude of the Nile is 30° 2′; that of the Euphrates, as it flows through the Persian Gulf, 48° 26′, or a difference of nearly eighteen degrees and a half, or more than eleven hundred miles. So large is the space comprehended, along the southern frontier, from the River of Egypt to the River Euphrates, from the east side to the west side, or in the same latitude.

On the northern extremity of the land, the range of

Amanus, from the River Euphrates to the uttermost sea, or extremity of the Mediterranean, scarcely exceeds one hundred miles. In round numbers, the average breadth of the promised land would thus be six hundred miles, which, multiplied by its length, five hundred, gives an area of 300,000 square miles, or more than that of any kingdom or empire of Europe, Russia alone excepted. The jesting Frenchman is brought down from his boasting when it is seen that a region half the extent of France would need to be added to its size, before the land of "the great nation" would equal, in superficial extent, that land which the Lord gave to the seed of Israel. It exceeds, in the aggregate amount of square miles, the territories of ten kingdoms of Europe, Prussia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wirtemberg, Denmark, Sardinia, and Greece, and its relative proportion to Great Britain and Ireland is 300 to 118, or more than two and a half to one. Were the average breadth to be reckoned at 500, instead of the medium, 600 miles, which, from the inequality of the sides, may be nearer the truth, the superficial extent of the promised land alone would still exceed that of the largest kingdom of Europe.

But Israel, extensive as are its bounds, is not destined to stand alone. Its mightiest adversaries of old shall be its servants. No prince but of Israel shall rule in Egypt or Assyria. The former country will add to Israel's dominion, or subservient domain, an area of 150,000 square miles. The latter, including Mesopotamia, and "stretching beyond the Tigris as far as the mountains of Media,"* and from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf, leaves no region that shall not own immediate fealty to the kingdom of Israel, from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to the borders of Persia and the vicinity of the Caspian. Such is the power of the word of the living God; such the liberality of his gifts to the people whom He chose, were they his own by another covenant than that which they have broken; and such, in topographical relations alone, is the provision that is made, as thus revealed, for the completion of the promise, that Israel shall finally be a blessing in the midst of the earth. Thus saith

* Gibbon's Hist., vol. iv., p. 166.

the Lord, "It shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them; and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness and for all the prosperity that I procure unto it."*

There is a striking analogy between the word and the works of God, ever traceable by those who search the Scriptures and regard the operation of his hands. But the one and the other seem here strikingly to cohere. The Lord hath given the earth to the sons of men, as He hath set the bounds of their habitation. But He formed Israel for his glory, and chose them as his peculiar people; and peculiar, too, is the land which He assigned them, even as respects its *borders*. The Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, form on the west, the south, and the east, borders of a land which, but for these *inland* seas, would be wholly encircled by Asia, Africa, and Europe, and shut out from all direct communication with the Pacific and Atlantic, and the lesser oceans of the globe. The River of Egypt to the Mediterranean, and that sea from the mouth of the Nile to the estuary of the Orontes, and the Euphrates from the foot of Amanus to the Persian Gulf, leave not the smallest portion of the west side, or of the east side, that is not actually or virtually a navigable coast to the extent on both sides of two thousand miles; while on the north, the intermediate barrier of Amanus, at the breadth of less than one hundred, renders the land a garden enclosed. The hand of the Lord, who hath laid the foundations of the earth, and made the sea, and the dry land, is in all this; and here, though not here alone, He has magnified his word above all his name. The first glance at the borders of Israel, when they are looked at in the latitude assigned them by a divine and irrepealable decree, may show that they were set in subserviency to the final end, as declared, from the beginning, to be accomplished by the Lord, for which Israel was set apart from the nations, and not numbered among them, so that, as assuredly as their covenanted land shall be their *everlasting possession*, all the families of the earth shall be blessed in the seed of Jacob. Separated as Israel is from other lands, such

* Jer., xxxiii., 9.

are its borders, that it has unequalled freedom of access to all.

But, without here entering on such a theme, it behooves us first to consider how *the land* is *goodly* as well as large; and how, notwithstanding all the curses that have come upon it, it is still fitted for becoming, as described in Scripture, a pleasant, delightsome, goodly, and glorious land, "the glory of all lands," the heritage of a people greatly blessed of the Lord.

CHAPTER III.

NATURAL FERTILITY AND ANCIENT POPULOUSNESS OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

Ere ever the Israelites had entered on the possession of any portion of their inheritance, Moses declared unto them, *The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land; a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.** *The land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.*† And it is otherwise described as *a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive and of honey.*‡ *I chose Israel; I lifted up mine hand unto them, to bring them forth of the land of Egypt into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands.*§

When the Israelites first entered into their promised possession, before passing the Jordan, numerous were the cities and vast the spoil that fell at once into their

* Deut., viii., 7–9. † Ibid., xi., 11, 12.
‡ 2 Kings, xviii., 32. § Ezek., xx., 6.

hands, in the day when the Lord *began* to put the dread of them upon the nations that are under the whole heaven, who should hear the report of them, and tremble and be in anguish because of them. When the iniquity of the Amorites was full, and all in Israel above twenty years old, who had come out of Egypt, and had trespassed in the wilderness, had been buried there, it was given them to know that the Lord, though he would not clear the guilty, remembered his covenant with their fathers; the promise that had seemed to linger was about to be fulfilled; the word came from the Lord that they had compassed Mount Seir long enough, and they were commanded to turn northward and to *begin to possess*, that they might *inherit the land*. They entered it not like a colony taking possession of an uncultivated, unpeopled, and defenceless region. But the Lord gave them a land for which they did not labour, and cities which they built not they dwelt in; of the vineyards and oliveyards which they planted not, did they eat.* Sihon, king of the Amorites, and all his people, came out against them to fight at Jahaz. But the Lord delivered him unto them; and they took all his cities, and dispeopled his kingdom of its former inhabitants, and took the cattle and all the spoil of the cities for a prey. Og, king of Bashan, came out against them, he and all his people, to battle at *Edrei*, and shared the fate of the other Amoritish king. They took all his cities at that time: there was not a city which they took not from them, threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; besides unwalled towns a great many.† All the cities were taken at that time from the River of Arnon unto *Mount Hermon*, all the cities of the plain, and all *Gilead*, and all *Bashan*, unto *Salach*, and *Edrei*, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All the cattle, and all the spoil of the cities, they took for a prey to themselves.‡

The Midianites, too, fought against Israel; and the Lord was avenged of Midian. All the cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, were burned with fire. But the first settlement of Israel was not

* Deut., vi., 11. Josh., xxiv., 13.
† Numb., xxi., 23–26.
‡ Numb., xxi., 33–35. Deut., iii., 3–10.

there; and the sum of the prey was taken, and it was apportioned in Israel—six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand beeves, and sixty-one thousand asses.* It was not by their sword or by their bow that the Israelites triumphed. One thousand men only were chosen out of each tribe to fight against the Midianites and to destroy them utterly. On enumerating, after their return, the sum of the men of war who had gone forth to battle, there lacked not one man; whereupon the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds brought unto Moses an oblation to the Lord of wrought gold, taken of the spoil, sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels.†

The numerous walled cities and towns of Bashan and Gilead manifestly imply the high fertility of these regions; and the claim that was speedily urged for the possession of the conquered territory, shows that Israel had already entered, as their own, on a rich pastoral inheritance. The tribes of Reuben and Gad had a very great multitude of cattle, and they besought Moses and all the princes of the congregation to give them the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead, for the place was a place for cattle.‡ From Aroer, which is by the River Arnon, and the border unto the brook Jabbock, which is the border of the children of Ammon, the plain also, and Jordan and the coast thereof, and half Mount Gilead and the cities thereof, were given to the Reubenites and Gadites; and all the region of Argob, and all Bashan, with its threescore cities, were given to the half tribe of Manasseh.§ The territories then possessed by the Moabites and Ammonites, together with the land of Edom, were at that time excluded from the patrimony of Israel. But, exclusive of these, the two tribes and a half had, as implied in Scripture, and as will afterward be more fully shown, a "goodly heritage." Like the tribes who possessed them, and like their kindred "outcasts of Israel," Gilead and Bashan have long been forgotten but in name. The time then was, when, beyond the Jordan, the faithful testimony was wrung from Balaam, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel;" but, scattered as the He-

* Numb., xxxi., 32–34.
† Ibid., xxxi., 10, 32–34, 48–52.
‡ Ibid., xxxii., 1–4.
§ Ibid., xxxii., 33. Josh., xiii., 9–31.

brews are throughout the world, that testimony is prophetic still, which, on their return, Gilead and Bashan have yet to confirm.

After the people had multiplied in the land, the sons of Reuben spread their flocks from the entering in of the wilderness from the River Euphrates, because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead. Confederate with the Gadites and the Manassites, they made war with the Hagarites, and sent forth against them alone forty-four thousand valiant men, skilful in war. Not trusting alone to their skill or their strength, they cried to God in the battle, and prevailed. Fifty thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and two thousand asses became the prey, while a hundred thousand men were the prisoners of the victors; and, enlarging their border still farther within the promised bounds, they dwelt in their stead.* Neither a sterile land, nor stinted limits, though only partially possessed of old, were from the beginning thus assigned to the Israelitish occupants of the regions beyond Jordan, which have long been lost sight of, and for many ages have been all but blotted out from the memory of man. The time seems to be coming when these lands shall rise anew into an estimation befitting no mean portion of the inheritance of Israel, and becoming Christians to cherish, who believe the scriptural record concerning them of times long past, and look for their returning, because promised "glory" in that day—it may be not distant now—when the flock of the Lord's heritage, which he has long fed with the rod, shall feed in Bashan and in Gilead as in the days of old. And the Lord will show unto him marvellous things, according to his coming out of the land of Egypt, and the nations shall see, and be confounded at all their might.†

From a mountain east of Bethel Abraham looked eastward across the valley of Jordan, on the hills of Gilead and Bashan, while on every side around him lay the land of Canaan, within the boundaries of which he then stood. He and his sons, and his sons' sons, had wandered as strangers, *very few* in number, without a dwelling-place in the land. Jacob, well-stricken in years, had, together with his eleven sons, left that land in a

* 1 Chron., v., 9, 18-22. † Micah, vii., 14, 15.

time of famine to go to Egypt, to dwell and to die there, but first to see again his other son Joseph, who at an early age had been taken as a slave-boy to the land of the Pharaohs, and sold to the keeper of a prison. But when the four hundred years, spoken of by the Lord Almighty to Abraham, had expired, and Israel had become a great people according to His word, and was brought back again to the land often promised to their race, the descendants of houseless but believing patriarchs experienced the truth of the covenant of their God. In such large measure was their inheritance dealt out to them, that when Joseph, who had been a slave and a prisoner in Egypt, had become in his descendants *two tribes* in Israel, and when he had received, according to his father's word, one portion above his brethren, one half of one of these had for possession the land of Bashan, with its fruitful hills, its rich plains, and its sixty cities; and two tribes besides received also their proportionate inheritance at their own entreaty, on the east of the Jordan; and when that river was passed, the land on the west of that river, with all its cities, was divided by lot among other tribes of Israel.

The western side of the Jordan is a land better known. Trodden as it peculiarly was by patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and, infinitely more than all, by Jesus, its claims on every believer's remembrance are such as cannot be questioned; and the testimony of historic and prophetic truth concerning it has an unchallengeable claim to an unrivalled interest, or such as no other land can urge, on the part of either Christian or Jew.

The sum of all the congregation was taken in the plains of Moab, by command of the Lord, before they struck their tents to take possession of their inheritance. The land was to be divided among them according to the number of the names. To many the more inheritance was to be given, and to few the less. Exclusive of the tribe of Levi, there were numbered of the children of Israel above six hundred thousand,* from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go to war in Israel. As none of them exceeded sixty years of age, they could not have formed more at the utmost than a third part of the total number, which could not have

* Num., xxvi., 51.

fallen short of two millions, and is generally estimated at three. The tribes of Reuben and of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, were not numerically a fifth part of Israel, according to the census that was taken of them all; and more than a million and a half must have passed the Jordan, to take their inheritance at once in the land of Canaan.

Neither a sterile region, however large, nor a waste, unreclaimed country, however fertile naturally, could, on its immediate occupancy, have given ample space and abundant sustenance to so vast a number of simultaneous settlers. Unlike what it yet shall be on the destined return of the Hebrew race, the land, on their first entrance, was *not* too narrow by reason of the multitude of men; but, numerous as were the thousands of Israel, the land was then too large for the people. The nations who possessed it were to be put out by *little and little*,* and the Israelites were commanded not to consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field should increase upon them.† Four hundred years elapsed from their first settlement east of the Jordan till the Hagarites were smitten and dispossessed, and the flocks of the Reubenites reached to the wilderness of the Euphrates. When the Jordan was first passed, and the tribes of Israel encamped on the plains of Jericho, they did eat of the old corn of the land; and the manna ceased, as needed no more, whenever they had entered into Canaan. That land was their own by the covenant of their God—the God of heaven and of earth. Their enemies, who were many and mighty, speedily fell before them. The Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, and Hivites combined against them. Their kings went out, and all their hosts with them; much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many, and pitched together at the waters of Merom to fight against Israel.‡ Their warfare was in vain, for these were days in which the Lord of Hosts was known to be the God of Jacob. The allied kings of Canaan, who reigned from Mount Seir to the valley of Lebanon, were slain and utterly destroyed, and all the spoil of their cities and cattle were the prey of the people into whose hands the Lord had given them. In the

* Deut., vii., 22. † Ibid. ‡ Josh., xi., 5-7.

hills, and the valleys, and the plains, allotted to the inheritance of Judah, a hundred and four cities, with their villages, are enumerated;* but, though the most numerous of the tribes, the part of the children of Judah was too much for them, and the tribe of Simeon had their inheritance within that of Judah. A greater number of other cities or towns, mentioned by name, were allotted among the other tribes. Forty-eight cities, with their suburbs, were separated from among the rest for the Levites,† the least of all the tribes; and these seem not to have been a tenth part of the cities which were divided among the commonwealth of Israel.

The land was subdued, and there stood not a man of their enemies before them. But, vast as was the multitude, so ample were their possessions, that when Joshua was old and stricken in years, there remained much land to be possessed, so that there were seven tribes which had not then received their inheritance. Having assembled the whole congregation of Israel at Shiloh, he charged them with being slack to go in to possess the land which the Lord God of their fathers had given them; and according to the commandment of the Lord, he divided that which remained, from which their enemies had not been driven out, as if it had already been their own in possession. But he warned them not to come unto these nations, or to cleave unto the remnant of them, nor to make mention of the name of their gods, else they might know for a certainty that the Lord would not any more drive out these nations before them.

The Israelites, in the second generation after Joshua, transgressed the covenant which was their tenure of the land, and therefore the word came from the Lord that He would not any more drive out from among them the nations which *Joshua left when he died.* In estimating the population, in ancient times, of the promised land, they to whom alone it would have been given if they had been faithful to their God are not alone to be reckoned. The Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and other nations, were left to prove Israel by them; and the Israelites dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites. Besides these, the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites

* Josh., xv., 20–63. † Ibid., xxi., 41.

were neither few nor feeble. Their enemies that remained within their own covenanted borders were so numerous and strong, that, sometimes even singly, and often partially combined, they brought Israel very low, in the land promised to their fathers; and the first wars in Canaan were unlike to many which, when faithless to their God, they subsequently waged, and the Philistines, Edomites, Ammonites, and Canaanites successively oppressed the children of Israel.

"From Dan to Beersheba" was a marked and even proverbial expression, which denoted "all Israel," from one extremity to the other of the land which they held, though not exclusively, in actual possession. But many regions, now rich in ruins, and once covered with cities, lay within the bounds of Israel's promised inheritance, which were left in the possession of other nations than the seed of Jacob, who, together with the aliens who dwelt in the midst of them, were, it may be presumed, never less numerous than the Israelites.

Though the word had gone forth from the Lord that he would no more drive out from before them any of these nations, because they had transgressed His covenant which He had commanded their fathers, and though they were often oppressed by their enemies, and the Lord "vexed them with all adversity" when they rebelled against Him, yet the children of Israel multiplied in the land, and became, more than before, a great nation. When David numbered the people, including the soldiery, or those who were called into the actual service of the king in their due course, month by month throughout the year, "all they of Israel were eleven hundred thousand that drew sword; and of Judah, four hundred and seventy thousand,"* exclusive of Levi and Benjamin. The whole congregation of Israel must rather have exceeded than come short of six millions of souls. At a later period of their history, after the long, peaceful reign of Solomon, their progressive population is sadly marked by the hostile armies of Judah and Israel, headed by their kings Abijah and Jeroboam, and numbering respectively 400,000 and 800,000 chosen men.† The fertility of a country may be told by the abundant population it sustains, if these be, as the Israel-

* 1 Chron., xxi., 5. † 2 Chron., xiii., 3.

ites were, an agricultural rather than a commercial people. When such armies were mustered, conclusive evidence is given of the vast population they represent, and, consequently, of the fertility of the land from which its subsistence was derived, though every man capable of bearing arms had been ranked in their number, without the designation of their being "chosen men." But when such armies of Israelites were set in battle array to defile with each other's blood that land which the Lord had given them for an inheritance, no argument can be drawn from thence that such would have been the full extent of Israel's greatness, if they had kept the covenant of the Lord their God, and had not thus defiled, as finally for many ages they forfeited the goodly heritage which the Lord had given them.

But without entering more than is needful here on their history as a nation, while yet they had a land that they could call their own, a single glance at the last sad scene may suffice to show, from the teeming population which inherited the last remnant of that land, before they were finally an expatriated race, without a country or a home, that Palestine sustained a vast population. Prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, the Idumeans had encroached far within the lot of Judah's inheritance, and Eleutheropolis, then their capital, was situated on the plain of Judea, within fifty miles of Jerusalem. Samaria was peopled by an alien race, but Galilee was thronged with Jews, together with Perea, which, reaching to Ammon on the opposite side of the Jordan, formed, in addition to the remaining portion of their own proper country of Judea, the whole territory then possessed by the Jews. Though restricted to this comparatively small portion of Israel's inheritance, Judea, as then peopled by the Jews, must, in the time of Titus, have contained, as Volney admits, four millions of inhabitants. After having been subject to the Roman sway, the Jews cast off their authority, and resisted for more than three years the mighty masters of the world, to whom the siege of Jerusalem was one of the hardest enterprises they had ever undertaken.

The brief description given by Josephus of Judea in the commencement of the war is full of interest, corroborated as it is by other testimony.

"The two Galilees (Upper and Lower) of so great extent, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war. For the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor has the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous population; for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that by its fruitfulness it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation. Accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies waste. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here are everywhere so full of people, from the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contained above 15,000 inhabitants. It is all capable of cultivation, and is everywhere fruitful.

"Perea, though partly desert, and esteemed less fertile than Galilee, yet has a moist soil, and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with all sorts of trees, while yet the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs, that never fail to flow, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the heat of summer."

Samaria is described by Josephus as of the same nature with Judea, "for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain water, of which they have no want; and for the rivers which they have, all their waters are exceedingly sweet; and, what is the greatest sign of excellence and abundance, they each of them are very full of people."*

Such was the remnant of the goodly heritage of Jacob immediately before it was wrested from the last tribe that possessed it, and such was the land of the Jews ere they ceased to be a united nation, with a country that they could call their own. They had ceased

* Joseph., Hist., b. iii., c. 2.

to be blessed, as their fathers had been. Israel ere then had been shorn of its glory, and had gone into captivity. Judah had become tributary, and the sceptre had departed from it. Jerusalem, once the metropolis of Syria, with a recognised supremacy from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates, had shrunk into the denuded capital of a rebellious province, which, in the attempt to regain its liberty, brought on itself swift and complete destruction. Yet, on a retrospect of the past, in order to know that Israel's was a goodly heritage, it is only needful to look to what Judea continued to be, while it was full of iniquity, as the Jewish historian relates, and ripe for judgment, as the event bore witness, till those to whom it was given by the covenant of their God were rooted out of it, according to his word, with anger and wrath, and great indignation. Its state then could not rightly be taken as any illustration of the fulness of the promise, or the richness of the inheritance pertaining to a people faithful to the covenant of their God, nor can it be reckoned as the full measure of the bounty and the blessing which awaits Israel in the latter days, when God shall establish with them an everlasting covenant of peace. But from what Judea was even then, a testimonial may be taken of what Israel yet may be.

That the plain of Judah, as well as that of Galilee, was then covered with an abundant population, is obvious from the express statement of Strabo, as illustrated by the fact that, from the village of Jamnia and from the inhabitants around it, forty thousand armed men could be sent forth into the field.*

Hecateus, who flourished about *three hundred years* before Josephus (when the Jews, though a tributary people, had greatly recovered from the Babylonish captivity), described the country of *Judea* as containing 3,000,000 of Egyptian acres (about 2,250,000 English acres), generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; as containing many strong places and villages, the chief city, Jerusalem, being inhabited by one hundred and twenty thousand men. According to Tacitus, who, like Josephus, wrote a history of the Jewish war, great

* Και ἐυανδρησεν δυτος ὁ τόπος ὡς' ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ιαμνίας, και των κατοικιῶν τῳ κυκλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας ὁπλίζεσθαι.—Strabo, tom. ii., 1079.

part of Judea was overspread with villages, besides towns, the chief of which was a strongly-fortified city. By the lowest estimation given by him, the number of Jews that perished in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem was 600,000, which, according to Josephus, formed the number of dead bodies that were carried out at a single gate. Of no siege, in all history, is there so circumstantial a detail, even as it was one of unequalled misery and slaughter. As the vast population of Israel in former ages could best be told from the hundreds of thousands in the armies mustered against each other, when Ephraim fought with Judah, so, when the latter alone was left, and the time had come when it too was to be rooted out, the thousands of Judah were counted by the myriads of the slain. In Jerusalem, and other cities and towns, as specially enumerated by Josephus, above thirteen hundred thousand perished. The multitude of sacrifices could not save them. The number of these, at the last passover, was 256,500, indicating an assemblage within and around Jerusalem of two millions and a half, which could not have exceeded a moiety of the gross Jewish population before it was thinned by the sword, and pestilence, and famine.

Again and again the Lord *rooted them out of their land in anger, and in wrath, and in great indignation*, and finally *scattered them among all nations under heaven*. In the curses of the covenant it was written that the Lord would *bring a nation against them from far, from the end of the earth; that* they would be *besieged in all their gates throughout all their land*, and that *their cities would be laid waste.** And after the destruction of the city and the sanctuary by the Romans, and the expulsion of the Jews from Judea, they soon rallied again around the cities of their fathers, and strove to throw off the Roman yoke. All Judea, as a heathen historian relates, was in a state of commotion; and, aided as the Jews were by others, to assert their liberty, the whole empire was convulsed. The Emperor Adrian sent all his best commanders against the Jews, the chief of whom was Julius Severus, who commanded in Britain, and went from the end of the then known world to Palestine. Awed by their numbers and despair, he dared

* Deut., xxviii., 49, 51, 52.

not to meet them in the open field, but attacked them separately with a great body of soldiers and tribunes, cut off their provisions, and adopting the slow mode of successive sieges, or shutting them up in detached bodies within their towns and villages, or *besieging them in all their gates*, the Roman armies so oppressed and broke them down when shut up, that very few escaped; and five hundred of their strongly-fortified citadels, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most celebrated and noble villages, were overthrown to their foundations. In sallies and battles five hundred and eighty thousand were slain; by famine, disease, and by fire, an "infinite multitude" perished, so that almost all Judea was emptied of its inhabitants, and left like a desert.* Such, too, was the slaughter of the Romans, so fiercely did the Jews contend for their fatherland ere they could be *rooted out of it*, that Adrian, in addressing the Senate, omitted in his despatch the usual exordium: "If you and your children are in health, it is well; I and the army are well." But the Romans unconsciously executed their commission, and completed the work of destruction.

In the very completion of the predicted judgments, while the curses of a covenant which they had broken pursued them from the land promised to their fathers, or cut them off within it, it may be seen how goodly was the heritage they lost, and how many were the fortresses and noble villages of Judea, after the chief cities had fallen, and Jerusalem had been laid even with the ground. It passed into the hands of other possessors: and the land of Israel, thus brought low, when it ceased to be tenanted by any of the tribes or of the race of Israel, had yet to bear, in after ages, the heavy curses of a broken covenant, till, on the completion of them, the time should come when Israel should be in blindness and the land in bondage no more.

* Hadrianus optimos quosque duces adversum eos mittit, quorum primus fuit Julius Severus, qui ex Britannia, cui præerat, contra Judæos missus est. Hic nulla ex parte ausus est aperte cum hostibus congredi, multitudine, ipsorum, atque desperatione cognita; sed eos separatim magno militum ac tribunorum numero adortus, commeatu prohibuit, atque intercluses serius quidem, sed minore cum periculo, ita oppressit fugitque, ut pauci admodum evaserint, et quinquaginta eorum arces munitissimæ vicique celeberrimi atque nobilissimi nongenti octoginta quinque funditus eversi sint. Cæsa sunt in excursionibus prælisque hominum quingenta octoginta millia, eorum autem qui fame, morbo, et igni interierunt, infinita fuit multitudo ita ut omnes pœne Judæa deserta relicta fuerit. — *Dion Cass., Hist. Rom*, lib. lxix., p. 798.

So abundant was the population, and so fertile the land of Judea, till the time had come when the iniquity of the Jews was full; when the threatened judgments could no longer tarry, and the people to whom it had been given were cast forth out of the land, and scattered as homeless wanderers throughout a persecuting world. But, though the Jews have lost their pleasant land, still the land of their desire; and though God has seemed to forsake his inheritance, yet far more extensive regions than they ever possessed, or any of the other tribes of Israel ever fully inherited, have as strong claims as Judea itself for ranking as portions of the goodly heritage of Jacob, as they manifestly lie within its divinely-appointed borders.

In Ptolemy's geography, forty-three cities or towns* are enumerated in Palestine or Judea, including Galilee, Samaria, and Philistia, while more than a hundred and ninety† besides these have their localities within

* Cæsarea Stratonis, Apollonia, Joppe, Jamnetorum portus, Azotus, Gazæorum portus, Ascalon. Anthedon.

GALILÆA, Camphuris (Sapphura), Capernaum, Julias, Tiberias.

SAMARIA, Neapolis, Thena.

JUDÆA (on the west of the Jordan), Rhaphia, Gaza, Jamnia, Lydda, Antipatris, Drusias, Sebaste, Bætogabra, Esbus, Emmaus, Guphna, Archelais, Phasaelis, Jericus, Hierosolyma (Jerusalem, then called Ælia Capitolina), Thamna, Engada, Beddoro, Thamaro.

JUDÆA (on the east of the Jordan), Cosmos, Libias, Callirrhoë, Gazaros, Epicæros.

IDUMÆA (on the west of the Jordan), Mezarmæ (Berzamma, Bersabee), Caparorsa, Gemmaruris, Elusa, Maps

† Seleucia Pieria, Orontis flu. ostia (Tiphon), Fontes fluvii (Ophites), Posidium, Heraclea, Laodicia, Gabala (Gebal), Paltus (Platos), Balanæ.

PHŒNICIA, Simyra, Orthosia, Tripolis, Dieu prosopou, *vel Dei Facies*, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus. Sinon, Tyrus, Ecdippa, Ptolemais, Sycaminos, Dora, Arca, Palæbiblus, vel *vetus biblus*, Gabala, Cæsarea, Panias.

COMAGENE (Azar), Areca, Antiochia penes Taurum, Singa, Germanicia, Catamana, Doliche (Dolica), Deba, Chaenia, Chobmadara, Samosata.

CYRRISTICA, Ariseria, Regias, Ruba, Heracleum, Niara, Hierapolis, Cyrrus, Berœa, Thena, Paphara, Vrema, Arudis, Zeuguma, Europus, Cecilia, Bethammaria, Gerrhe, Arimara, Eragiza.

SELEUCIDIS, Gephyra, Gindarus, Imma.

CASSIOLIDIS, Antiochia, Daphne, Bactaialla, Audea (Lydia), Seleucus penes Belum, Larissa, Epiphania, Raphaneæ, Antaradus, Marathus. Mariamne, Mamuga.

CHALYBONITIDIS, Thema, Acoraca (Acoraba), Derrhima, Chalybon, Spelunca (Spelucca), Barbarissus, Athis.

CHALCIDICES, Chalcis, Asaphidama, Tolmidessa, Maronias, Coara.

APAMENE, Nazama (Nazaba), Thelminissus, Apamia, Emesa (Hemesa).

LAODICENE, Cabiosa Laodicia, Paradisus, Jabruda.

CURVA SYRIA, CŒLE-SYRIA, or DECAPOLIS, Heliopolis, Abila cognomine Lysanii, Gaana (Gasana), Ina, Damascus, Samulis, Abida, Hippus, Capitolias, Idara, Adra, Scythopolis, Gerasa, Pella, Dium, Gadora, Philadelphia, Canatha.

PALMYRENES, Rhesapha, Cholle, Oriza, Putea, Adana, Palmyra, Adacha, Danaba, Goaria, Auera, Casama, Odmana, Aleia, Alalis, Sura, Alamata.

BATANÆA, Gerrha, Elere, Nelaxa, Adrama.

ARABIA PETRÆA. Eboda, Maliattha, Calguia, Lysa, Guba, Gypsaria, Gerasa, Petra, Characoma (Characomba), Auara, Zamaatha, Adrou, Zoara, Thoana, Necla, Cletharro, Moca, Sebunta (Esebon), Zija, Maguza, Medaua, Audia, Rhabmathmoma, Anitha, Surratha, Bostra (Bosrah), Mesada, Adra, Corace.

the geographical limits of the promised land. Of these, seventeen cities were situated in the land of Phœnicia, along the coast, between the mouth of the river which flows between Tyre and Sidon, opposite to Dan, to the mouth of the Orontes. On the banks of that river stood twelve noble cities or towns, among which, Seleucia, Antioch, Apamea, Epiphania, Emesa, and Heliopolis (Baalbec) were numbered, the last of which, though in modern times greatly renowned among ruins, had anciently but a subordinate place among the cities of Syria. Other cities were situated between the Orontes and the Mediterranean; while the Syrian provinces north of Damascus, as then distinguished, Seleucia, Cyrristica, Cassiotis, Calchis, Chalybon, Apamea, and Laodicea ad Libanum, numbered collectively upward of fifty towns or cities. Besides the *ten* cities, whose number gave that region its name, other eight are added by Ptolemy to the cities of the Decapolis. Syria, as Volney justly remarks, contained a hundred flourishing cities, and abounded with towns, and villages, and hamlets.

Syria, according to heathen testimony, was thus overspread with cities at the commencement of the Christian era. It was the garden, and, together with Egypt, the granary of Rome—the imperial city which reigned over the greatest empire that ever existed in the world. The fierce and protracted warfare of the Jews with the Romans, and their desperate and all but despairing attempt to repossess their inheritance, brought renewed and redoubled desolation on Judea, and levelled its cities with the ground. But in after ages it greatly recovered from the destructive overthrow. Christianity flourished for a season in the country which gave it birth. Though Jerusalem had fallen, the city where men were first called Christians had for a long time a high place among the chief cities of the world, and un-

ARABIA DESERTA, Thapsacus, Bithra (Bithra), Gadirtha, Auzara, Audattha, Eddata (Dadara), Balatæa (Balagæa), Pharga, Colorina (Calarina), Belgnæa (Belygnæa), Ammæa, Adicara (Idicara), Jocara (Jucara), Barathema (Barathena), Saue, Ccche (Choce), Gauara, Aurana (Auran), Beganna (Rheganna), Aluta, Erupa, Themma, Luma, Thauba, Seuia, Dapha, Sora, Odogana, Teduim, Zagmais, Arrhade, Abæra (Obæra), Artemita, Nachaba (Banacha), Dumætha, Allata, Abere, Calathusa, Salma.

The celebrated Itinerary of Antoninus Augustus, a most precious relic of antiquity, worthy of a Roman emperor to bequeath to the world, marks the relative distance of the chief of these cities. And the portion of it that refers to them is inserted in the APPENDIX.

questionably ranked next to Rome and Alexandria as the third, if not the second city of the empire. Though the people of the land had perished from off it, and were *scattered abroad*, and imperial decrees followed hard on each other, prohibiting the Jews from entering the land of their fathers, or daring even to draw near to look upon the place where Jerusalem had stood, a once alienated people, who embraced the everlasting covenant and received the Spirit of adoption, arose within it, and for a season prospered there, as if Israel's inheritance had been given to the Gentiles. The progress of desolation was stayed, and time was given as if to try whether the better covenant, established upon better promises, would be kept by those who, in the faith of Jesus, professed to be the children, though not according to the flesh, of faithful Abraham. But as the great apostacy began to work in the days of the apostles, so the simplicity of the faith as it is in Jesus soon forsook the scene of its origin; and, leaving the plains of Syria and other fertile regions, took refuge in an Alpine *wilderness*, in the place which the Lord had prepared* for his faithful witnesses, while idolatry resumed its domination in the East and in the West.

The forbearance and long-suffering patience of God are manifested by the suspension of unrepealed judgments, even when the sinfulness of man might call them justly down. The proof is too abundant that, in the land where its Author was crucified, the everlasting covenant was broken by those who bore the Christian name.

The prophetic cause assigned for the ultimate desolation of the land, while its own inhabitants shall be scattered abroad, till nothing but a tithe of what it was should remain, is thus declared in the Word that never errs, and that speaks of things then future as if they had been past: "Because the inhabitants thereof have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, and broken the everlasting covenant, therefore hath the curse devoured the land, and they that dwell therein are desolate."† It is needful to bear this testimony of the Spirit of prophecy in remembrance while surveying that land where Christian churches were established

* Rev., xii., 6. † Isa., xxiv., 5, 6.

after Jerusalem and its temple had been laid even with the ground. A far greater and longer desolation has come over the land of Israel than that which was brought on it by the Romans, and Christian churches, almost without number, have been laid as low as were the Temple of Jerusalem and the synagogues of Israel. In a retrospect of the past, there are manifold proofs that Palestine and the surrounding regions vied in fertility, population, and wealth with any land during the earlier ages of the lower empire. Judea, indeed, had fallen, after one of the bloodiest wars that ever stained the page of history, or reddened any land; but beyond Judea there was little else than quiet submission to the Roman yoke. That iron power kept the world in awe, and comparative peace, to what it long had known, reigned over Syria. As a Roman province, it was renowned in the world, and witness was given again how vast a population it could sustain. Long after their domination began, not only were ancient cities restored, but new cities arose; to the massive structures of ancient ages they added the beauties of Grecian art; and though the withering blight of Heaven's wrath had fallen on the mountains and plains of Judea, Syria, under the Romans, recovered for a time from many desolating contests, gave some renewed token of what it may be in the hands of its rightful possessors, when Israel shall be redeemed — when peace shall universally prevail, and when there shall be desolations no more.

In a description of the provinces of the East, as they existed in the middle of the fourth century, when the empire was called Christian—as if Jerusalem, not Rome, had been the capital of the world—Ammianus Marcellinus, an eminent Roman historian, portrays, in a few words, the different divisions of Syria, and gives a brief notice of its cities as they existed then.

Syria (*Cœle-Syria*), spreading over a spacious plain, is ennobled by Antioch, a city known throughout the world, which in the number of its exports and imports is unequalled by any other, and also by the very flourishing cities of Laodicea, Apamea, and Seleucia. *Phœnicia*, lying along the acclivities of Lebanon, is full of the bounties and loveliness of nature, and is adorned with

many beautiful cities, among which, though Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus excel for their pleasantness and the celebrity of their names, they yet have their equals in Emesa and Damascus. Palestine, abounding in cultivated and flourishing regions, has several great cities which rival each other in their excellence, viz., Cæsarea, Eleutheropolis, Neapolis, Askelon, and Gaza. The region beyond the Jordan, denominated Arabia, is rich in the variety of the merchandise of which it is full; it has, besides other large towns, the cities of Bostra, Gerasa, and Philadelphia, which the solidity of their walls renders most secure.*

The Roman colony of subjugated Palestine was divided into three provinces, each of which appropriated alike that noblest of territorial names. Of these the first, *Palestina Prima*, included the land of Philistia, the greater part of Judea, and Samaria. The *second* embraced within its bounds Galilee on the one side of the Lake of Tiberias, and the region of Gaulonitis, or Gadara, on the other, but was hemmed in by Phœnicia, on the Mediterranean coast. The *third*, *Palestina Tertia*, vel Salutaris, included the southern part of Judea, together with Edom and Moab. The far greater part of the trans-Jordanic region, though strictly pertaining to Syria, bore, from "Roman vanity," the name of Arabia. From Dan to Beersheba, the whole of the three Palestines, as of Israel's ancient inheritance, was measured in their utmost limits from north to south. These, therefore, unitedly formed but a small portion of the land that was at first promised to their fathers, and shall at last be divided among the Israelitish tribes. Yet, trodden down by the Gentiles as Palestine was, and meted out for the possession of Israel's enemies, and yielding up its remains to an Italian republic, the cities of Palestine, having risen more than once from their ruins, were yet to be reckoned by a number far larger than some independent kingdoms can boast.

Different lists of the episcopal cities of the three Palestines are given in Reland's most valuable work. In the first of these, which he deemed incomplete, the number of those places, of which each was a bishop's see, exceeded seventy. *Palestina Prima*, containing

* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiv., cap. viii.

thirty-five bishoprics;* *Palestina Secunda*, twenty-one;† and *Palestina Tertia*, eighteen;‡ seventy-four in all. To these are to be added, as given by Reland in another list, sixteen bishop's sees in the Phœnician provinces of Arabia, twelve in the province of Lebanon, and thirty-four in that of Arabia, or the Haouran, of which Bostra was the capital.

But Palestine, in its widest extent, when divided into three Roman provinces, was far from comprehending the destined heritage of Jacob; and a much more complete list of the bishop's sees in Syria is affixed by the Archbishop of Tyre to his history of the Crusades.

As Antioch, in former ages, had been the seat of emperors and kings, whether the successors of Pharaoh, or Nebuchadnezzar, or of Alexander, or bearing the name of Cæsars; so, when a proud hierarchy, supplanting in its native region the simplicity of the faith of the meek and lowly Jesus, outrivalled earthly principalities, the same city, long accustomed to rule, became the apostolic see of Syria, and held in subjection to its authority, as their titles ran, many catholici, metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops. In vain, according to an ecclesiastical polity like theirs, did Jesus say to his apostles themselves, "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them; *but so shall it* NOT *be among you;* but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."§ In vain did Jesus, when his disciples disputed which of them should be greatest, take a little child and place him in the midst of them, as a pattern worthy of the imitation of apostles, declaring that no man could enter in another manner into the kingdom of heaven;‖ and in vain did he say, "Be not ye called rabbi; *for*

* Ælia or Jerusalem, Anthedon, Antipatris, Apathus, Aracla or Heraclea, Archelais, Ascalon, Azotus, Bitelion, Baschat, Cæsarea, Diocletianopolis, Diospolis, Dora, Eleutheropolis, Gadara, Gaza, Gerara, Jericho, Jamnia, Joppe, Livias, Lydda, Magisma, Minois, Neapolis, Nicopolis, Orus, Petra (Palestina), Raphia, Sebaste, Sozusa, Sycamazon, Toxus, Tricomias.

† Abila, Capercotia, Capitolias, Diocæsarea, Gadæ, Gadara, Gaulame Clima, Helenopolis, Hippus, Maximinianopolis, Mennith, Nais, Pella, Raphia, Scythopolis, Sebaste, Sozusa, Sycamazon, Tetra Comias, Tiberias, Zabulon.

‡ Aila, Areopolis, Arindela, Augustopolis, Birosaba, Characmoba, Eluza, Mamapsora, Mapse, Mitrocomia, Pentacomia, Petra, Pharan, Phænon, Rabathmoba, Saltus Hieraticus, Sodoma, Zoara.—Vide Relandi Palestina, p. 207–214.

§ Mark, x., 42–44. ‖ Matt., xviii., 2, 3.

one is your master, even Christ, and *all ye are brethren.*"* In apostolic times, as the infallible record of the Spirit of all truth bears, bishops or presbyters, then interchangeable terms, were those whom the Holy Ghost made overseers (or bishops) over the *flock*,† and of whom there were several, if not many, in one town, as at Ephesus and Philippi. But in after ages *cities* derived their title to that name, which had from thence its origin as the *seats* (*sedes*) or sees of bishops. And the multiplicity of these — on the establishment of a hierarchical order, that exercised dominion and lordship in the Church, as did secular princes in the world —may clearly indicate how Palestine was plenteously repeopled by another race after the extermination of the Jews, and how the other regions of Syria teemed as before with an abounding population. In many of these cities, if not in all, episcopal dignity was maintained in a manner befitting papal domination; and the ruins of cathedrals, and many other churches once magnificent, amid the remains of many towns scattered over Syria, show how numerous and splendid were its cities in Christian times.

Jerusalem, indeed, had fallen, and a blighting curse rested on the hills of Judah, from which they never have recovered. The rightful capital of Christendom, and the destined seat of a universal kingdom of truth, and righteousness, and peace, raised not its head, even in mockery of its true greatness, for many an age. Though the Apostle James was the reputed Bishop of Jerusalem, and though bishops were but the fifth in order under the apostolic see of Antioch, whatever Rome might boast of concerning one of the apostles, there is something worse than a blank in the "apostolic succession" of the man who gave the sentence, in which all concurred, in "the first council" of the Church, and in the primitive seat of Christianity. For, as an archbishop records, while Syria could count many metropolitans and archbishops, with numerous bishoprics under each, and others that maintained these titular dignities, the Church of Jerusalem, according to tradition (on which the whole fabric of high-churchism rests), and also on the testimony of Syrian and Grecian

* Matt., xxiii., 7. † Acts, xx., 17, 28.

writers of no mean authority, had a bishop who enjoyed little dignity, or no prerogative whatever, down to the days of Justinian in the sixth century.*

So unseemly a blank in an ordinary pedigree, even if unassociated with others of a kindred sort, might, though unable to startle a Puseyite or a monk, baffle a master in any secular chancery. But though the rightful metropolis of Christendom had no place for centuries among archiepiscopal or metropolitan cities, and though no train of unholy successors pretended, for six centuries, to follow the brother of the Lord, Antioch had its magnates in largely compensating numbers, and was long, on the ecclesiastical arena, the rival of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. The city itself boasted of its three hundred and sixty churches. *Ben-Kiliseh*, the hill already mentioned, which lies between it and the sea, literally signifies *the thousand churches*, from the vast number with which it was adorned. And the see of Antioch, bearing the name of apostolic, exercised authority over two hundred and three bishops, besides eight metropolitans, twelve archbishops, and twenty-five principal suffragans, who resided in two hundred and forty-eight cities, of which about forty lay beyond the bounds of the promised land. Exclusive of these, attached to Tyre were thirteen bishoprics ;† to Apamea, seven ;‡ to Hierapolis, eight ;§ to Bostra, nineteen ;‖ to Seleucia, twenty-four ;¶ to Damascus, ten ;** to Cæsarea (on the coast), nineteen ;†† to Scythopolis, nine ;‡‡ to

* Juxta traditiones veterum, et etiam quædam scripta quæ auctoritatem habent non modicam apud Palestinos, et maxime Græcos, Hierosolymitana ecclesia usque ad tempora Justiniani sanctæ recordationis Augusti, episcopum habuit nulla, vel modica dignitatis prærogativa gaudentum.—Will. Tyr., Hist., lib. xxiii., p. 1045, 1049.

† TYRUS, 13, Porfirion, Archis, Ptolemais, Sydon, Sarepta, Biblium, Botrion, Orthosia, Archados, Antarados, Paneas, Araclis, Tripolis.

‡ APAMEA, 7, Epiphania, Seleucouila, Larissa, Valanea, Mariam, Raphanis, Arethusa.

§ HIERAPOLIS, 8, Zeuma, Surron, Varnalis, Neocæsarea, Perri, Orimon, Dolichi, Europi.

‖ BOSTRUM, 19, Gerasson, Philadelphia, Adraon, Midanon, Austanidon, Delmundon, Zozoyma, Herri, Iceni, Eucumi, Constantia, Paramboli, Dionysia, Conaachon, Maximopolis, Philipolis, Chrystopolis, Neilon, Lorea.

¶ SELEUCIA, 24, Claudiopolis, Diocæsarea, Oropi, Dalisanidos, Seuila, Kelenderis, Anemori, Titopolis, Lamos, Antiochia parva, Hefelia, Ristria, Selenunta, Yocopi, Philadelphia parva, Irinopolis, Germanicopolis, Mobsea, Demetiopolis, Abidi, Zmonopolis, Adrasson, Mynu, Neapolis.

** DAMASCUS, 10, Albi, Palmipou, Laodicia, Suria, Konokora, Yabruda, Danabi, Karacena, Hurdani, Surraquini.

†† CÆSAREA MARITIMA, 19, Dora, Antipatrida, Iampnias, Nicopolis, Onus, Socuris, Raphias, Regium Apatos, Regium Ilierico, Regium Liuas, Regium Gadaron, Azotus Paralias, Asotusippum, Estomason, Estilion, Tricomias, Toxtus, Saltum, Constantiniaquis.

‡‡ SCYTHOPOLIS, 9, Capitoliados, Miru, Gadaru, Pelos, Vilisippus, Tettacomias, Oluna, Galanis, Komanas.

Rabba-Moab, twelve;* to Bitira of Arabia, thirty-five.† Besides these, forty-three other cities were occupied by independent metropolitans, archbishops, or suffragans.

Sadly has Syria fallen, when the recapitulation, in the text, of its numerous bishoprics would deprive a page of all interest, and leave it to be passed over unread, by filling it with their long-forgotten and often unknown names, that find their fitting place, like those of pagan towns, in a note or an appendix, and that serve only, like them, to point to ruins, and to trace a resemblance in sound to naught but desolate localities now, where the ruins of castellated or cathedral cities, covered with wood or overgrown with thistles, have been long deserted by dignitaries and tenanted by wild beasts, the literal successors to many a proud episcopal throne. The record of the names and number of these cities which history has transmitted, with the numberless tokens of their fallen greatness, shows how Syria could sustain them all, while its own covenanted people, scattered among the nations, as if their wanderings in the desert had been resumed, had not a city to dwell in, nor a place on earth whereon to rest their foot. But as it is *not without cause that the Lord hath done all that He hath done to them*, as they and all the world *shall know*, so it is not without cause that Christian as well as Jewish cities have fallen, and now lie in mingled ruins, from end to end and from side to side of that land, on which the eyes of the Lord have been set for judgment during many ages, even as He espied it for the people of Israel at first, and planted them within it in the sight of the heathen. The ruins of these cities, wherever they have been discovered, and yet retain memorials of

* Rabba Moabbitis, 12, Augustopolis, Arindila, Kara, Serapolis, Mempsidos, Eulitis, Zora, Virosum, Pentacomia, Mamapson, Mitroconeras, Saltum Hieraticum.

† Bitira Arabiæ, 35, Adrasson, Dias, Medauon, Hierasson, Nein, Filadelfia, Ierapolis, Esmoss, Neapolis, Themistus, Philipopulus, Dionysia, Constantinu, Pentacomias, Tricomias, Canastados, Saltum Votanios, Exacomias, Enacomias, Comogonias, Comogeros, Comosthonis, Comis, Mahadaron, Comocoreatas, Comis Capron, Comis Insuanos, Comis Pirroareton, Comis Pecius, Comis Ariathon, Comis Neotis, Clima Anatolis Quevisinon, Comis Ariotas, Comis Trachonos, Comis Nesdamos.

Metropolitani, 7, Deritus, Heliopolis, Laodicia, Samosata, Kyros, Pompeiopolis, Mopsuestia.

Archiepiscopi, 12, Verea, Kalquis, Gabula, Seleucia, Piperia, Anasarphon, Paltos. Germanicia, Salamias, Varcossos, Fossos, Anauagathon.

Suffraganearum Prima, 25, Lidda, Joppe, Ascalon, Gaza, Meimas, Diocletian opolis, Beitt Gerbein, Neapolis, Sebastia, Jericyntus, Tyberiadis, Diocæsarea, Legionum, Capitolina, Mauromensis, Gedera, Nazareth, Thabor, Caracha vel Petra, Adroga, Afra, Ælis, Faram, Elinopolis, Mons Sina.—Will. Tyr., Hist., lib. xxiii., p. 1044-6.

what they were, bear witness, as will be seen, that the judgments that have come upon them are just; that the Gospel was not preached in them as Jesus preached it in the cities of Judah and of Galilee; and that the lesson which He taught while sitting wearied, and ahungered, and athirst on the well of Samaria, was forgotten in the land, and fountains that could hold no water were resorted to when the wellspring of life was forsaken. Men forget that "God is a spirit, and that they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."* There, as in other lands, *the apostacy* arose. A pure and simple faith assumed the form of paganism. Religion became an outward show instead of an inward power. The pomp of ceremonies was evoked anew by the spirit of a revived paganism. Where the apostles left their nets and their all and followed Jesus, men claiming genealogy from them *divided the land for gain*,† and, contrary to the command of the Author of the faith which they professed, *exercised lordship* over God's heritage. The church that was called Christ's, unlike to his, was transmuted into a kingdom of this world, and pagan paraphernalia took the name of Christian rites. *The mystery of iniquity which began to work in the days of the apostles*—concerning which many in our own day, forgetful what then began, are proud in their blindness, and glory in their shame—was developed more and more till transgression came to the full, and judgment could no longer tarry. And the wild sons of the desert, who claimed Abraham for their father, came in armed myriads at the predicted word, as by an appointed sign, to avenge the quarrel of the everlasting covenant on a race that were not their *brethren*, nor in any sense the children of faithful Abraham.

As Jeshurun of old "waxed fat and kicked," and a glorious beauty rested on the fat valley of Samaria, while the statutes of Omri were kept till judgment came, so, while space was given for churches called Christian to repent, transgressions were multiplied in the land, as in Israel of old, and luxury, together with iniquity, had reached its height, when the long-slighted curse suddenly and fearfully avenged the broken covenant. More direct and precise testimony than that

* John, iv., 24. † Dan., xi., 39.

of an enumeration of the names of cities is still farther in store, in demonstration of that excellence of Israel's own land, which gave it a first place among the kingdoms or provinces of the Roman Empire. Subjugated by the mightiest nations of the earth, it has been permanently retained by none, however great their power or high their pretensions, even though descendants of those who had laid Jerusalem in the dust and subdued the world, and the professors of a faith which, if real, would have saved its numerous cities from destruction.

We now come to the time when *woes*, denounced by that very name in the Word of God, fell upon apostate Christendom, or on those who had *fallen away from the faith* once delivered to the saints; for on such alone those woes could fall, which were to touch only those men who had not the seal of God upon their foreheads.*

When Goths, and Vandals, and Huns had long desolated Italy, and a "barbaric king" reigned over it, Syria continued to be one of the fairest provinces, or tributary kingdoms of the lower empire; and some of its regions ranked among the most populous, and some of its cities among the most princely in the world. In describing the siege of Bosrah on the east, and those of Heliopolis and Homs on the north of Palestine—but, on either side, far within the borders of Israel's destined heritage—Gibbon incidentally testifies the goodliness of the land, as it existed down to the Saracenic invasion, in the seventh century.

"One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eastward of the Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity with the name of Arabia, and the first arms of the Saracens were justified by the resemblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered by a line of forts; and the *populous cities of Gerasa, Philadelphia*, and *Bosra* were secure at least from a surprise, by the solid structure of their walls. Twelve thousand horse could sally from the gates of Bosra."† "Syria, one of the countries that had been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference. The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity of the sea

* Rev., ix., 4. † Gibbon, vol. ix., p. 389, 384.

and mountains, by the plenty of wood and water; and the produce of a fertile soil affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation of men and animals. From the age of David to that of Heraclius, the country was overspread with ancient and flourishing cities; the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the slow ravages of despotism and superstition, after the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attract and reward the rapacious tribes of the desert. Among the cities which are enumerated by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and conquest of Syria, we may distinguish *Emesa* or *Hems*, *Heliopolis* or *Baalbec*, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Cæsars, they were strong and populous; the turrets glittered from afar; an ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride, by their riches, or at least by their luxury."* "Chalcis alone was taxed at five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs and olives as would load five thousand asses. The terms of capitulation were faithfully observed."† "The safety of Antioch was ransomed with three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town. *Bosra*, *Damascus*, *Heliopolis*, *Emesa*, *Jerusalem*, *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, fell successively into the hands of the Saracens. From the north and south the troops of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* advanced along the seashore, till their banners were joined under *the walls of the Phœnician cities: Tripoli and Tyre* were betrayed. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea. The remainder of the province, *Ramlah*, *Ptolemais* or *Acre*, *Sichem* or *Neapolis*, *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Gabala*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Hierapolis*, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs,"‡ &c.

The Saracens formed the first *wo*—not the last—that

* Gibbon, vol. ix., p. 402–405.
† Ibid., p. 407.
‡ Gibbon's Hist., chap. li., *passim*.

came on idolatrous Christendom. On their invasion of the Roman Empire, Jerusalem was rather to be *given unto the Gentiles* than rescued from them. Ages were thereafter to intervene before the land should reach the last degree of predicted desolation. The judgments of the Lord were to be executed in it on those who had anew profaned it by their idolatries. But while this charge was given to the Saracens, which, as all students of prophecy well know, they failed not to execute, a prohibition was simultaneously written in the book of the Lord, and as simultaneously issued in the appointed time, against laying the land desolate; and stripped as it would finally be, like an oak that had cast its leaves, not a tree or green thing was then to be hurt. *It was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree, but only those men that had not the seal of God on their foreheads.** The unconscious "commander of the faithful" thus issued his instructions accordingly to the chiefs of the Syrian army. "When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women and children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons, who live retired in monasteries; let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries; and you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shorn crowns; be sure you cleave their sculls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedans or pay tribute."†

"The rapacious tribes of the desert" made Syria their own, and richly was their conquest rewarded. Notwithstanding "the slow ravages of despotism and superstition," and its subjugation to the Persians, to whom for fourteen years it had been *given for a prey*, till reconquered by Heraclius, Syria could still boast of its numerous cities, and its fertile soil sustained a vast population. Five thousand ass-loads (proverbially great)

* Rev., ix., 4. † Gibbon's Hist., vol. ix., p. 381.

of figs and olives, necessarily the produce of a single year, gave proof, as part of the tax imposed upon one city, that the combined excellence of climate and soil were not then lost upon man, and that the circumjacent region might lay claim to be a portion of a land where every man might sit under his own fig-tree, and the lords of which, in the expressive language of Scripture, might "dip their feet in oil."

Edifices of Saracenic structure, scattered over Syria, show that these invaders, like the Romans, sought to perpetuate their conquest, and made it their work to build rather than destroy. But these were chiefly mosques or castles, the former displacing churches, the latter for repressing the inhabitants, as well as resisting foreign foes. "The tribute, the Koran, or the sword," were not the heralds of prosperity and peace. Syria faded rather than flourished under the dominion of those "hordes of fanatics that issued from the desert," and whose office it was to *torment* rather than to destroy.

The promised land was to be given only for a limited period to any alien race, while its ancient inhabitants were scattered abroad. The Arabs, like the Romans, claimed it by right of conquest as their own. But though *they appointed the land*, which the Lord called His, *into their possession with the joy of all their heart*, and shall still strive to regain or retain it, as they first won it by the sword; and though they said, while the stronghold of Zion was in their hands, and Saracen fortresses towered throughout the land on the heights of Israel, *even the high places are ours in possession*, yet they were there only to execute judgments, as the temporary tenants of a land that was not theirs. Their possession of it was not unchallenged or undisturbed. After its subjugation to them, Judea "ceased not to be the scene of grand revolutions."* The victors becoming successively the vanquished, it was in after ages the contested territory of Saracens, Persians, Turks, Egyptians, and Fatimites, till, in still more bloody warfare between Christians and Mohammedans, it became, as described by Gibbon, "the theatre of nations," where the tragedy of the crusades was enacted—the battle-field of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The land which men called Christians sought to redeem, by a phrensy that matched the fierce fanaticism of Moslems, was thereby *smitten with another curse*.

* D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 269.

CHAPTER IV.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SYRIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

"I will give it unto the hands of the strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it."—*Ezek.*, vii., 21.
"Thou land devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations."—*Ezek.*, xxxvi., 13.

SYRIA, peopled by conflicting races, could scarcely be said to repose under the dominion of the caliphs. It was at best, as under the Romans, a subjugated country, a *prey* and a *spoil* to *strangers*.* The comparatively quiescent state which succeeded to its conquest, was soon, from various causes, disturbed anew; and this prophecy, together with many others, ever meets with renewed illustrations in all its history, while it was given, age after age, to the wicked for a prey, *the sword of the Lord shall devour from the one end of the land even to the other end of the land; no flesh shall have peace.*† Even the subjugated Christians soon persecuted each other. The general council of Constantinople (A.D. 681) condemned the Maronites; and, chased from the greater part of the cities of Syria, they betook themselves to the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.‡ In a few years after, Syria was the scene of fierce contests between Ali the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, and Moaviah, the caliph of the Ommiades, whose cause the Syrians espoused.§ Profiting by their divisions and mutual conflicts, the Maronites descended from their mountains, and ravaged all the land from the extremity of Lebanon to the vicinity of Jerusalem.‖ The termination of the dynasty of the Ommiades, and the commencement of that of the Abassides, was marked by great earthquakes, which overthrew a great number of churches and monasteries beyond the Jordan and throughout Syria, and the violent and frequent shocks destroyed many cities.¶ The death of Haroun-al-Raschid (A.D. 808) plunged Syria into new calamities. While his sons disputed for the empire, various usurpers invaded and ravaged Syria. *Eleutheropolis*, the capital of

* Ezek., vii., 21.
† Jer., xii., 12.
‡ Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 557.
§ Ibid., p. 90–93, 588, 9.
‖ Guene, Lettres, Mém. de Littérature, tom. iii., p. 318.
¶ Ibid., p. 319.

Idumea, was destroyed, and that flourishing city never recovered from its overthrow. *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Suriphea*, and many other cities were pillaged, and the barbarians spread everywhere desolation and terror. These troubles continued till towards the close of the ninth century; the caliphate of Bagdad itself began to be shaken by the insurrectionary Turks; and when the Saracenic Empire was dismembered, Syria was convulsed.*

The Arabs have never ceased, by predatory inroads or forced possession, to *devour* the land over which they could no longer solely domineer, and they did not suffer so fair a region to be wrested from their grasp without repeated desolating wars. But the energy of their empire had departed, and Syria could no longer be retained. The Thoulounid Turks, first slaves, then masters, having obtained in Egypt all of sovereignty but the name, Syria became the scene of their warfare with the caliphs. Ahmet, ruling uncontrolled in Egypt, like a modern despot, passed (A.D. 874) from thence as a conqueror to the farthest bounds of Syria, and subjected to his sway *Damascus*, *Hamah*, *Aleppo*, and *Antioch*.† His conquests were rapidly succeeded by renewed and incessant contests for the revenue and sovereignty of Syria.‡ A meteor-domination, blazing, blasting, and dying away, was then the form that despotism assumed, while at intervals the smouldering ashes of the caliphate sent forth their scorching gleams. Whenever the Turkish supremacy began, the government of cities and territories was bartered for gold. For that of *Kinnesrin* and *Aouasem*, four hundred and fifty thousand pieces of gold annually were offered by Haroun, and accepted, at a time when it could be maintained only by the Turkish cimeter, and the possession of it was insecure for a single year.

In the first year of the tenth century a new cause of commotion arose in that troubled and distracted land; and for a time it seemed as if Mohammed himself was about to be superseded by Caramath, another warlike prophet, "whose creed overturned all the foundations of Mohammedanism."§

* Guene, Lettres, Mém. de Littérature, tom. iii., p. 320, 321.

† Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, &c., par De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 131, 132. Ahmed amassed immense treasures, which he left to his children, viz., a million of pieces of gold, seven thousand slaves, a vast number of horses, mules, camels, &c. In his time the revenue of Egypt amounted to three hundred millions of pieces of gold.—Ibid., p. 135.

‡ Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, &c., par De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 135–141.

§ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 256.

The new faith which called its votaries to war, originating in Chaldea, speedily overspread Syria and the neighbouring provinces. The greatest efforts of the Carmathians were directed against Syria. They defeated the forces of the garrison of Damascus in several encounters, and besieged that city. Haroun advanced to the rescue, and slew the chief of the Carmathians in a battle in which about twenty thousand fell. So rapid had been the growth of the new-born faith, that it sustained the shock. The discomfited but resolute fanatics having retired to Emesa, and recruited their strength and redoubled their numbers, subjected Syria to a second and more disastrous warfare, laid Damascus under contribution, and ravaged the environs of *Hamah*, *Maarah*, and *Baalbec*. The inhabitants of Salamia resisted and repelled them; but on their returning with renewed impetuosity to the charge, they capitulated and opened their gates, when the savage conquerors put them all to an indiscriminate slaughter, without distinction of age or sex; and after such a sacrifice, their chief, assuming the title of Mahadi-Emir-el-Moumianin, ordered public prayers to be made in his name.*

The caliph, courageous to combat a fallen foe, seized the opportunity which their feebleness afforded, of striving, by a powerful effort, to destroy the Thoulounid Turks, and by subverting their dominion, to restore that of the Abassides. The ill-fated *Damascus* was again a prey. Palestine became the scene of contest for deciding the sovereignty of rival caliphs. But the first short-lived Turkish dynasty in Egypt was speedily destroyed (A.D. 905), and Syria again owned the Arab as its master.†

In extinguishing the power of his antagonist, the caliph exhausted his own. "The provinces of the Saracenic Empire became the prey of numerous petty sovereigns." Syria was ravaged by the Carmathians. A new dynasty arose, that of the Ikhschid Turks, of which Abou-Bekr-Mohammed was the founder, who subdued Syria by his influence and his arms. The feeble caliph (A.D. 935) abandoned the country which he could no longer either reconquer or rule.‡ The power that constitutes the *second wo* has been more fortunate than that which formed the first. No *Christian* arm was raised to save Syria for the caliph. The cause of the difference may, at no distant day, be obvious.

* De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 145, 146. † Ibid., p. 146, 147. ‡ Ibid., p. 147, 148.

The second wo arose beyond the bounds of Christendom, while many of the elements of *the third* have to be gathered from within it—and a preparatory work has to be done by the *kings of the earth*—before the greatest and last of battles shall be fought on the plains of Palestine.

Syria was soon torn again by rival aspirants to unchallenged sovereignty over it, and was divided for a time between the governor of Damascus and the ruler of Egypt; and when the former was slain, the latter retook *Damascus* and other cities, and the subjugated land of Israel, ransomed from the fetters of Bagdad, was smitten with the rod of Egypt, wielded by a Turk (A.D. 942).*

But the land had no rest from war. The Hamadanites, an Arab dynasty, contented with that of the Ikhschidites for its possession. They invaded Syria, took *Aleppo*, gained a battle between *Sarmin* and *Maarah*, and besieged *Damascus*; but, after various encounters and battles at *Rostan*, *Hamah*, and *Kinnesrin*, the peace of Syria seemed to be consolidated by the marriage of the son and daughter of the rival princes, whose fierce combats led not to the entire overthrow of either. The land and the cities suffered from both, and the hope of peace was delusive, for the war was soon renewed, and *Aleppo* retaken.† Ikhschid's death, instead of healing the troubles of an agitated county, introduced still greater, and made Syria again a prize for combatants.

So ephemeral is the greatness, and so vain the glory of man, that Ikhschid's name may now seem that of an unknown man, unworthy of a place in history. Yet his was a power greater than that of a modern lord of Egypt who has filled the world with his fame. A Turkish dynasty then, in the beginning of the days of their pride, was not to be measured by that of the sultan now, in those of their decline. The Caliph of Egypt mustered in his armies four hundred thousand men; and far mightier hosts contended for the possession of Syria in the ninth, as for hundreds of years thereafter, than *heretofore* in the nineteenth century. He could then trample upon Christians, and provoke Europe to war. His persecutions and exactions, which brought church goods to the hammer,‡ presenting an example which successive conquerors were not slack to follow, prepared

* De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 149. † Ibid., p. 150, 151. ‡ Ibid., p. 152.

the way for those unparalleled and continuous wars of which Syria was for centuries the scene.

His demise roused the Carmathians, invigorated again with the hopes of conquest. *Ramlah* was the field of another battle; *Damascus* was retaken by the victorious Turks. New enemies arose. A large army of Greeks, under Nicephorus, entered Syria. They who before were contending for the prey, combined against the assailants who sought to seize it from them all, and to restore the days of Roman despotism (A.D. 965).

Nicephorus and John Zimisces, "the two heroes of the age, forced and secured the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, and carried their arms into the heart of Syria." Antioch was taken by surprise. "The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided; and the efforts of a hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Africa, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of *Aleppo* was subject to Seifeddonlat, of the dynasty of Hamadan, whose precipitate retreat abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the wall of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering-rams, and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jaushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted; and while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword; ten thousand youths were led into captivity; the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burden; the superfluous remainder was burned; and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads, they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit. *More than a hundred cities* were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpits of the principal mosques were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mohammed. The classic names of *Hierapolis*, *Apamea*, and *Emesa* revive for a mo-

ment in the list of conquests: the Emperor Zimisces encamped in the paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of *Tripoli*, on the seacoast of Phœnicia."*

But the time had gone by in which Roman or Grecian despotism could permanently resume the mastery of Syria. "The powers of the East," says Gibbon, "had been bent, not broken, by the transient hurricane." The Roman conquerors retired or were driven beyond the Taurus, and their combined foes became mutual combatants again; for when, in the following year, a youth of eleven years of age occupied the seat of the Egyptian caliphs, his troops overran and obtained the mastery of Syria, they were speedily routed and chased from thence; but, on returning with increased numbers to repel its rebellious inhabitants, they had no sooner subjugated them anew than they were encountered and overthrown by mightier foes. While in Egypt and Syria dynasty after dynasty rose and fell, that of the Thoulounid Turks in thirty-seven years (from A.D. 868 to 905), and that of the Ikhschidite Turks in a shorter period (A.D. 935 to 969), Mahadi Abdallah, a descendant of *Phatime*, the daughter of Mohammed, laid in Africa the foundations of a powerful empire; the fate of Syria was decided in a succession of battles at Ramlah; it was constrained to yield to other spoliators; the kingdom of the Ikhschidites was overthrown, and that of the Phatimites established.†

Their domination over Syria was subverted by that of Malek Schah, the third sultan of the Seljoucid Turks, whose kingdom extended to the frontier of China. But, mighty conqueror as he was, like his father, Alp-Arslan, the conquest of Syria was no easy task. Bent on the destruction of the Phatimites, he first sent into that land a powerful army, under the command of his cousin Solyman, in order to reduce it to his obedience. After a long siege, reduced to famime, *Damascus* surrendered. *Emesa*, and a great part of Syria, as far as Antioch, yielded to his power; but, having penetrated into Egypt, his army was repelled from thence, and, returning to Syria, ravaged it anew, and pillaged *Jerusalem*.‡ Contending armies flocked to the land of Israel, the scene of a renewed warfare, in which not its fate

* Gibbon's Hist., x., p. 88-91. † De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 152-154. Herbelot.
‡ Ibid., p. 216.

alone, but that of powerful rival dynasties, was decided. The war was carried on throughout all parts of Syria. The King of Moussul besieged *Aleppo*.* The brother having followed the cousin of Malek Schah at the head of Turkish armies, the severity of the contest demanded the presence of that monarch himself to achieve the conquest of Syria. The prey of the Phatimites for a hundred years was torn from their grasp. It might seem that when a mighty conqueror won it, its possession would have been secure for ages; but no sooner had it fallen into the hands of the Seljoucian princes than they warred with one another, and Syria resumed its wonted character of a kingdom divided against itself. But its past wars were as petty enterprises, when the time was come in which, more than ever on any spot on earth, Syria was the arena of conflicts in which all the world took part, and the prize for which it fought.

"Destruction upon destruction is cried," said the prophet concerning the land of Israel, and its history is a continued echo to the cry. The experiment has been tried, and need not be repeated, whether nations called Christian can establish "the kingdom of Jerusalem" while the Jews are not there, and any other throne than that of the Son of David set up.

From the days of Alexander the Great, the dynasties of Seleucus and Ptolemy, in Assyria and Egypt, alternately lorded over Palestine, though the tribe of Judah continued unbroken. On the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, their supremacy was undisputed, and Syria was a province of the empire till the Arabs of the desert subdued the degenerate sons of the conquerors of the world. In a brief space, whenever the dismemberment of the Saracenic Empire began, hordes of spoliators flocked successively, and sometimes simultaneously, under chiefs aspiring to its sovereignty, from all the surrounding countries. But a new era in its history, unique in that of the world, commenced with the Crusades.

The siege of Antioch† (A.D. 1098) was the first grand essay of the Crusaders within the bounds of the patrimonial inheritance of Israel. A brief notice of the siege may con-

* De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 217.

† Willermi Tyrensis, Archiep. Hist., p. 686–727. De Guignes' Hist., tom. iii., p. 85, &c.

vey some idea of the wars in Syria which then began. Antioch, at the close of the tenth century, was a glorious and noble city, the third, if not the second, in greatness and rank, after Rome, being esteemed by many superior to Alexandria.* A few years previous to its siege, the greater part of the walls had been thrown down by an earthquake; but the time was not come in which they were suffered to lie for many days, as now for many ages, in ruins. For seven months it defied all the power and art of hosts of crusaders, headed by many valiant knights of Europe; and though reduced to famine, it was taken by stratagem rather than by force. The merciless conquerors disgraced the Christian name alike by the gross immoralities practised during the siege, befitting the votaries of Apollo, but monstrous in the reputed followers of the cross, and by the savage atrocities committed in the day of their stolen triumph. The city was given for a prey. The Archbishop of Tyre, the chief historian of the Crusades, confesses that the pillage was universal and the slaughter indiscriminate, while the shrieks of the women were everywhere heard amid the prevailing carnage, and that in one day ten thousand citizens were slain, whose unburied bodies covered the highways. The houses of the rich were first sought out, broken open, and pillaged by bands of the Crusaders. Fathers, mothers, children, and servants were put to the sword. Vases, gold, silver, costly vestures, &c., were seized and shared by the rapacious and murderous conquerors.† Other historians relate that in the sack of the city a hundred thousand perished, and that the captured treasures were immense.‡ The city taken became speedily again like a besieged city, within which its victors were shut up. But their fanatical courage, roused by the reputed discovery of the lance that pierced the side of Christ, bore them victorious through a fierce battle, fought with a vast army of Persians who had come too tardily, and all in vain, to the rescue of Antioch. The gold and silver taken in the spoil were converted into candlesticks, crosses, chalices, priestly vestments, and other church utensils. The altars that the Moslems had thrown down were re-erected; the images were restored, and when fractured, renewed; the patriarchate of Antioch was re-established, in all the plenitude of pontifical authority. After

* Will. Tyr., p. 686.
† Ibid., p. 711.
‡ De Guignes, ibid., p. 93.
§ Will. Tyr., p. 727.

the immolation of thousands of victims and the sack of one of the richest cities in the world, the church began to reap the secular fruits of the secular war it had provoked, to which it were profanation to give the name of holy; and as many a churchman bore lance in the tented field, bishoprics were speedily established throughout the neighbouring cities which had been wont to hold a cathedral dignity. Such was the nature, and such were some of the results of the first conquest in Syria, so soon as the Crusaders were established in that city, where men of the purest morals and of the most peaceful habits, the children of a kingdom not of this world, in whose hearts Jesus reigned, and who professed the faith as it is in Him in all its simplicity, were first called Christians.

A summary the most succinct may be given of the crusading wars within the bounds of Syria, as they bore most disastrously on its state; and as they illustrate what was the strength of its cities, from the sieges they withstood, how goodly was the prize for which Christendom and Mohammedanism contended for ages—how the cause of the desolation of so many cities may be patent to the world—how strangers *devoured the land*—and how the land itself, not unavenged, *bereaved the nations of men*, in a more remarkable manner and degree than any other country ever did. To mark the nature of these wars, as witnessed by the first glance at Antioch, is to see their end. The kingdom which it was their object to establish, though nominally that of Jerusalem, could not stand.

The strong city of *Albara*, two days' journey south of Antioch, was next besieged, and its citizens forced to an unconditional surrender by the Count of Toulouse, who, on the capture of the city and subjugation of the adjoining territory, immediately set over it a bishop, on whom he conferred the half of the city and of all the territory. A severer fate awaited *Maarah*, also a strongly-fortified city, eight miles distant. The besiegers and the besieged launched on each other Greek fire, stones, and enormous rocks; and hives full of bees were also cast on the assailants. In spite of the desperate resistance of the inhabitants, the city was taken by force; the Franks (a more befitting name than that of Christians) entered it sword in hand, and the inhabitants were delivered to the fury of the soldiers.* The

* Will. Tyr., p. 732.

Arab historians relate that an offered treaty caused division in the city, profiting by which the enemy entered, and slaughtered both parties. Some escaped the general massacre, who had fled to a palace, and were made prisoners, whom manacles awaited. A city so fair, and a territory so fertile, tempted the stay of some of the heroes of the Crusades who had come from Europe to set Jerusalem free. The wrath of their fanatic followers was thereby provoked, who, when vainly vociferating to be led on to the Holy City, forced their departure by razing to the foundations the towers and walls of *Maarah*.*

Intimidated, it may be, by such massacres, the cities of Cæsarea, Hamah, Emesa, Ramlah, and a great number of other cities of Syria, suffering the Crusaders to pass, maintained with them a temporary peace. To escape pillage, they brought food to the invaders; those which dared to resist were taken by assault: and thus passing through the states of the princes of Syria, they reached Jerusalem.†

The sack of *Jerusalem*, after a siege of forty days, was no less horrible than that of Antioch. So great was the slaughter of the enemy, says the Archbishop of Tyre, and so great the effusion of blood, that it could even strike the victors with horror. Within the precincts of the Temple ten thousand were slain, and not a lesser number in the streets. The rest of the army, not engaged in such general massacre, searched throughout the lanes and houses for those who, in fear of death, sought concealment, and dragged them forth openly to execution, to be slain like beasts.‡ According to other historians, a hundred thousand perished.§ The old and infirm were all slain; the women were seized; those who were spared were made prisoners. The spoil in gold, silver, and gems, together with sixty-six chandeliers of gold and silver, was incalculable, or, as expressed, of infinite abundance.‖

The loss of so many cities and so great wealth spread consternation among all the Mussulmen. When the tidings of the fall of Jerusalem reached Bagdad, and some fugitives were introduced to the divan of the caliph, all wept at the melancholy tale, and tore their beards in their bitter lamentations. But, says the historian, they could give nothing

* Will. Tyr., p. 734. De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 98.
† De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 99.
‡ Will. Tyr., p. 759.
§ De Guignes' Hist., tom. iii, p. 99.
‖ Will. Tyr., 759-761.

but their tears; they had none to send to chase the Franks from Syria.* The *first wo* had then passed. But by impenitent wickedness, and aggravated iniquities, and the restoration of idolatry throughout Syria, and in Jerusalem itself, the way was speedily preparing for *the second*. The conquering Crusaders, then instruments in the execution of judgments, had, in other days, to supply illustrations that, though hand join in hand, iniquity shall not pass unpunished —that vengeance belongs unto the Lord, and that He will repay.

The short reign, for a single year, of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine,† instead of being sufficient for the consolidation of a new kingdom, or the restoration of peace to Palestine, was not only imbittered with contests with the patriarch to whom he conceded the fourth part of the city, but was scarcely begun when the prince of Egypt, then the most potent in the East, advanced with vast hosts in order to drive out the "barbarian" invaders. The spirit of fanaticism had been roused anew by the capture of Jerusalem, and again they overthrew their enemies near to *Ascalon;* but that city, which afterward threatened Jerusalem, they did not then venture to assault, and they laid siege to *Tyre* in vain.‡

Baldwin, the second king, had to fight his way from Edessa to Jerusalem; and the history of his reign of eighteen years is chiefly comprised in that of sieges and battles, from one extremity of Syria to the other. Neither unity, righteousness, nor peace prevailed in Jerusalem. The patriarch, who had sought to appropriate as his own the whole city, fearing the approach of the king, betook himself to the Church of Zion. Baldwin besieged *Ascalon* in vain. The lawless inhabitants of the plains, freed from the dominion of their former tyrants, and not courting the protection of a Christian prince, fled before him, and sought refuge in caves, from whence they were driven by fire and suffocating smoke, and compelled thereby to an unconditional surrender. On his passing to the land of Moab, and the more northern regions east of the Jordan, the inhabitants deserted the plains and fled to the mountains; but, rushing suddenly on a large band of them by night, while most of the men escaped, the new possessors of Palestine seized the women and the children, and all their substance for a prey, and carried with them

* De Guignes, p. 99. † Will. Tyr., p. 762–775. ‡ Ibid., p. 781, 782.

immense spoil (spolia infinita) and a vast number of camels,* &c. Such was the mode of what was called Christian domination in Syria.

Presuming on Divine aid, the king, having collected all his forces, went forth to extend his kingdom, and laid siege to *Arsur* or *Antipatris*, which, after fierce assaults, and a breach in the walls of the castle, was taken. The renowned *Cæsarea* was next his prey. Besieged by sea and land with projectile machines placed around, one of which, of marvellous height, was far higher than the walls, the towers and walls were shaken, the houses within were broken down, and the incessant assaults gave no rest to the citizens. The resistance became feebler from day to day, the assaults more fierce and determined; the walls were suddenly scaled and occupied; the king entered with his forces into the city, thus taken at last by storm. Cæsarea had rivalled Antioch. Each was built in honour of a king; each was the seat of royalty, and the scene of gayety, where princely games were celebrated, and the citizens rioted in godless pleasures: and the one could now cope with the other in the horrors of the siege and sack, those of Cæsarea equalling those of Antioch, of which they were a counterpart. The cool description of the archbishop may indicate how familiar were such scenes to the knights and priests of the Crusades, and how the raising anew of one archiepiscopal throne after another was preluded by the outpouring of torrents of blood.

The armed soldiers, running everywhere throughout the city, took possession of the courts and strongholds where the citizens sought safety, broke open the houses, and, putting many to death, seized all that was valuable. Of those whom they found in the streets and lanes of the city it is needless to speak (*superfluum est disserere*), since even those who carefully betook themselves to passages and secret places could not escape the carnage. On an elevated part of the city, where formerly stood a temple of admirable workmanship, erected by Herod in honour of Augustus, there was a public oratory. Thither, in the hope of concerting means for their safety, most of the citizens had fled, to the place where orations were wont to be made. But there was then another war than that of words. When it was burst open by the foe, such was the carnage, that the

* Will. Tyr., p. 781, 782.

feet of the slayers were imbrued in the blood of the slain, and the multitude of corpses was a horrible spectacle. In the oratory was found a vase of the brightest green, like an emerald, which the Genoese purchased at a great price, as an ornament for their church! In various parts of the city almost all the adult inhabitants were slain, and scarcely was mercy shown to youths of either sex. "Here, indeed, we may behold to the letter," says the archbishop, "what was written by the prophet, 'The Lord delivered their valiant men into captivity, and their strong men into the hands of the enemy.' Therefore, when the sword was at rest, and the slaughter of the people consummated, all the spoil and the household effects were collected together, and, according to agreement, the third part was allotted to the Genoese, and the rest to the king's household followers. Here, for the first time, our people, who had entered the country poor and needy, and had laboured under great want till that day, now loaded with booty and enriched with money, began to live sumptuously. The king, being recalled by urgent affairs, having chosen as archbishop one named Baldwin who had come to the expedition under Godfrey, and having left a garrison in the city, hastened with the rest of the troops to Ramlah."*

Anything approaching to a full detail of the incessant wars by which Syria was ravaged throughout all its borders would fill a large volume. As there was no rest for the Jews scattered throughout the world, the land itself had none from the many nations which came up against it. The alternation of victory and defeat, and of the capture and renewed siege of cities, gave no pause to the work of slaughter, spoliation, and destruction. The land of Israel became, as it were, an outspread altar, in which human sacrifices were offered continually. Its numerous fortified cities, in the hands of hostile princes, became its bane rather than its defence. City was set against city, as army against army. The environs of a fortified town were no sooner ravaged and laid waste, than, on the withdrawing of the foe, its revengeful inhabitants sallied forth to retaliate the wrong, wherever a defenceless city could be found; and Jerusalem itself was thus repeatedly assailed.

Such was the insecurity of the throne of Jerusalem, that, soon after the capture of Cæsarea, the king was a solitary

* Will. Tyr., Hist., p. 784, 785.

fugitive. Advancing to repel the invading Egyptians, he discomfited them in the first encounter on the plains of Ramlah, with the slaughter of 5000 men. Returning with a fourfold re-enforcement, they wreaked their vengeance on the vanquished army of the Crusaders, the remnant of which found refuge within the *walls of Ramlah*. Escaping from thence to *Antipatris*, the king rallied his forces, and reconquered his enemies. The cause of the Crusades revived. *Tortosa* was taken by new emigrants from Europe. The intrepid Tancred assembled all his forces in the north of Syria, and besieged the noble city of *Apamea*, then the capital of Cœle-Syria, by the capture of which he greatly extended the boundaries of his principality. *Laodicea*, peopled by Greeks, submitted to his authority. *Ptolemais*, which repelled a first siege, fell in the second. *Tripoli* was taken by stratagem: *Berytus*, after a siege by sea and land. Danes and Norwegians, descending on Syria, lent their aid to the siege and capture of *Sidon*.*

These temporary triumphs of the Crusaders, having roused the fear and vengeance of their enemies, brought on them new hosts of foes.† While the Egyptians fought in vain with Baldwin in the south of Syria, the King of Moussul and other Moslem princes, with an army of 60,000 Turks, assailed the Franks in the north of Syria. The King of *Aleppo*, at the head of half that number, threatened *Damascus*, of which, while in previous amity with the Crusaders, he had been constituted the protector. The new war, carried on with varied success and manifold desolations, terminated in favour of the Crusaders, who became masters of *Artesia*. But new enemies speedily arose: among others, the Assassins, who gave rise to the name which appropriately designates them, and were dangerous alike to Christians and Mussulmen. They seized *Apamea*, which was besieged and retaken. Thoghteghin, king of Damascus, again and again ravaged the territories of *Tiberias* and *Sidon*, and blockaded these cities. He destroyed the fortress of *Archas*, and the environs of *Tyre*, of which he raised the siege; while the Syrians revolting, besieged *Damascus*. The previous armies that had passed the Euphrates having sunk before European valour, the Sultan of Persia summoned all the Mussulmen to a religious war, and 200,000 Turkish troops were mustered in the armies

* Will. Tyr., p. 786–9, &c. † De Guignes' Hist., tom. iii., p. 103, 108, *passim*.

of Syria. The King of Damascus joined his forces with those of Maudoud (Menduc), a powerful Persian prince, who besieged *Tiberias* for three months, and ravaged all its vicinity.* "There was no end," says the archbishop, "of the infinite multitude that broke into the kingdom of Jerusalem." They laid waste the plains and harassed the cities. The Crusaders in vain strove to withstand them, and were defeated and pursued with so great and unsparing slaughter, that the king himself, casting away the standard which he bore, and the patriarch, together with other princes who accompanied them, were scarcely saved by flying to the mountains. The army of the enemy, in separate divisions spread over the plains, converted the highways into scenes of slaughter, ravaged the land by fire and sword, devastated the suburban regions, assaulted walled cities, and passed as freely throughout Syria as if it had been subject to their sole dominion (A.D. 1013). The Saracens of the land united with the invaders: and such was the terror that reigned throughout all the kingdom, that no one dared to be seen beyond the walls. Enemies from the south, as well as from the north and east, rushed on the miserable kingdom of Jerusalem; and that city itself was besieged by the Ascalonites, as it had previously been threatened by the Turks."†

Some of the cities of Syria, though secure against their foes, were visited at the same time by terrible and extensive earthquakes. Several cities were reduced to heaps of stone, and the inhabitants dispersed throughout the plains, while many perished in the ruins. But the sword did not rest, though the fortune of war was changed. Turks, when victorious, strove, like the Christians, for the prey. The King of Damascus united with the Franks; and when Maudoud had been assassinated, the Sultan of Persia sent another army of 46,000 men across the Euphrates (A.D. 1115). They entered the territory of Antioch, and besieged *Roha*, where many Franks and Armenians were slain; they laid waste all the environs of *Samosata* and *Saroudge*, or *Rugia*, and *many other neighbouring cities* which belonged to the Franks, and made prisoner William of Percy, who commanded that country. *Hamah*, then a city of the King of *Damascus*, was besieged and taken, and given up to pillage. But their desolating career was stayed. Many ene-

* De Guignes' Hist., tom. iii., p. 111, 118. † Will. Tyr., p. 807, 808.

mies combined against them; and, being suddenly assailed when separated in three divisions, one of these fell under the arms of the Franks, another perished in the River Pharphar, and the third was attacked and defeated by Thoghteghin, who slew of them 3000 men.* His peace with the Crusaders was speedily at an end; and when a band of Turks sought to take possession of *Raphania*, they all fell beneath his sword. The kingdom of Aleppo became a province of the Otrokides, who thenceforth carried on a vigorous war with the Franks, who had driven them from Judea.

Such was the reign of Baldwin, the first of the name who was King of Jerusalem. That of his son was not less bloody, nor less checkered with triumph and disasters, or less uniform in the multiplicity of the desolating raids of the spoliators of Syria. The military events which were concentrated in his reign of twelve years are too numerous to be defined, and the mere recital of the chief of them may show how that country continued unceasingly to be a troubled and a bleeding land. On the south, in the first year of his reign, it was invaded by an Egyptian army, designated an infinite multitude; to repel which, the king withdrew his forces from Tripoli and Antioch.† In the west, Gazzi, general of the Turkomans, joined with other foes, invaded the territories of Antioch and Aleppo; and, obtaining the mastery, carried on an exterminating war. Roger, prince of Antioch, was slain, and his newly-recruited army annihilated. The king, hastening to the combat, defeated his enemies in a desperate battle, in which 4000 of them fell.‡ A new invasion of the same region occupied his collected forces; while the King of Damascus, allied with the Arabs, ravaged the territory of *Tiberias*. With a revenge that slumbered not, the king besieged *Gerasa*, took and razed it.§ Called from thence to rescue his kingdom from the frequent and fierce irruptions of Balac, a powerful Turkish prince, the king himself was taken, and, bound with chains, was carried beyond the Euphrates.‖ The kingless kingdom, again also the prey of Egypt, was, as in the days of his father, threatened with extinction. But the crusading phrensy was still strong in Europe, and myriads rushed to the field of blood into which the whole land of

* De Guignes, p. 114, 115. † Will. Try., p. 818. ‡ Will. Tyr., p. 823.
§ De Guignes, p. 117. ‖ Will. Tyr., p. 825.

Israel had been converted. The Duke of Venice timely arrived with a numerous fleet, which, as the record bears, gloriously triumphed over that of Egypt. *Baalbec* was besieged by Balac; *Jerusalem* was again repeatedly assailed; and *Tyre*, after a vigorous, bloody, and long-protracted siege, reduced by famine rather than by force, surrendered by capitulation.

The fall of Tyre roused anew all the forces of the East against the countries possessed by the Franks.* Baldwin, released after a captivity of eighteen months, again headed his armies, and paid his ransom with the blood of his enemies. The latter part of his reign was a repetition of the first, in incessant contests, of varied issues, and in different localities, with Egyptians, Turks, and Arabs, &c.; but, whoever prevailed, the land was ever ravaged. The city of *Raphania*, in the country of Apamea, was taken by the king and the Count of Tripoli, after a siege of eighteen days. *Maarah* was besieged, and all Cœle-Syria, in the ordinary phraseology of such histories, was entirely ravaged by the Turks. Of two successive expeditions against Damascus, the first had no other result than the abundance of the spoil; in the second, undertaken on the promise that the city would be delivered into their hands by the chief of the Assassins, who possessed many castles in the vicinity of Paneas, the Franks, apprized of the massacre within the walls of Damascus of 6000 of their treacherous allies, abandoned the enterprise, accounting it happiness, which many of them did not enjoy, to escape with their lives. Such was the last exploit of Baldwin the Second,† who died A.D. 1131.

Two intestine contests for supremacy in the north of Syria were not, in its commencement, the presage of a peaceful reign to Fulco, the successor of Baldwin the Second. Invited by the princes of Antioch to settle their troubled state, at a time when princely cities of Syria were gifted as dowries, the Prince of Tripoli refused him a passage through his territory; "the soldiers of the Cross," adding a still deeper stain to the name, drawn up in battle array, fought with each other in a long-doubtful battle, till the forces of the count were vanquished by those of the king.‡ In Cœle-Syria a war was carried on between rival brothers, Ismael and Mohammed, sons of the deceased King of Damascus. The fortresses of *Ras* and *Lebona* were taken and

* De Guignes, p. 120. † Ibid., p. 122–123. ‡ Will. Tyr., p. 854, 855.

retaken, and *Baalbec* was besieged. The troublous times gave no respite to war; and while the King of Jerusalem was occupied before *Joppa*, *Paneas* (Cæsarea Philippi) was besieged and taken by Ismael, king of Damascus. A temporary peace between these monarchs served but to change the seat of war. Ismael invaded the territories of the Count of Tripoli, defeated him in battle under the citadel of *Monte Pellegrino*, made him prisoner, and slew him.* His son and successor, Raimond, assailed in his devastated territory by a ferocious but skilful chief, Zenghi, who proved his title to the name of Sanguinus, given him by the Franks, invoked the aid of the King of Jerusalem, who hastened with a large army to his succour. Sanguinus, who had besieged the city of *Raphania*, and grievously afflicted its inhabitants, encountered with a large and powerful army the forces of the king, and, having defeated them with great slaughter, put the Crusaders to flight, and pressing hard on the vanquished monarch, besieged him and his chieftains in the *castle of Mount Ferrard*, into which they had fled as the nearest asylum.

Open to devastation as the kingdom of Jerusalem then was, its enemies on every side,† eager for the conquest or renewed possession of Syria, were not slack in their efforts to attain it. The inhabitants of Ascalon, which then pertained to Egypt, defeated the intrepid Rainald, who bore the title of bishop, but who was a bold soldier in carnal warfare, and previously distinguished for his military exploits.‡ While the congregated forces of the Crusaders were hastening to the rescue of their king, Ismael pillaged and burned the city of *Napolous*, and afterward turned his arms against *Hamah*, which Zenghi had previously taken by surprise. Having retaken it, together with the castle, he pillaged *Schizor* (Cæsarea), and returned to Damascus. Arabs, Turks, Greeks and Persians, Egyptians and Turkomans, thus successively vied with Franks in their crusading career. Ismael besieged and took the fortress of *Schokaef;* and this conquest having displeased the Franks, they retaliated the wrong by reassembling their forces in the *Haouran*, which Ismael again repaid by an irruption into the country of Tiberias. Such was the tyranny of that lord of Damascus, who had repeatedly laid waste large portions of Syria, that, slain by his servants, his subjects exulted in his

* De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 124. † Will. Tyr., p. 866, 867. ‡ Ibid., p. 868.

death.* The regent of his kingdom offered twenty thousand pieces of gold monthly to the Franks to aid him against Zenghi, the founder of the dynasty of Attabeks in Syria (originally officers of the Seljoucides of Persia). Their joint armies laid siege to Paneas, which city, when taken, he offered to deliver to the Franks.

Before this seemingly unhallowed league was formed by Crusaders and the enemies of the faith, Christians had contended with Christians for the possession both of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea*, and the extensive intervening regions; and both these cities had been besieged, while in possession of the Franks, by the Emperor of Constantinople, and suffered severely from his assaults.† Scarcely had the emperor withdrawn from Syria, when the king, congregating his forces, passed the Jordan to besiege a fortress in Gilead, which grievously annoyed the territories of the Franks, when a band of Turks, seizing the opportunity of ravaging Palestine, took possession of the town of *Tekoa*, the city of Amos and Habakkuk, the inhabitants of which fled at their approach. Robert of Burgundy, arriving in Jerusalem, having endeavoured to repulse them, was defeated with great slaughter, and many nobles were slain. The Crusaders needed Moslem aid to attempt the siege of Paneas.

The King of Damascus was called from the siege of Paneas to the defence of his own capital: the Bathenians or Assassins took the famous fortress of *Masat*, near to Tripoli, where they long established themselves in the adjoining mountains, under their chiefs, who bore successively the long-dreaded name of the "Old Man of the Mountain." As the power of the Seljoucides became more and more feeble in Syria, that of the Attabeks arose. Led on by Zenghi, they added daily to their conquests in the territories of Damascus, and in those also of the Franks.‡ Fearful for Antioch, and, consequently, for all Syria, the Crusaders in Palestine invoked the aid of all the princes of Europe, to save the Holy Land from the threatened domination of the infidels. St. Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, was the Peter the Hermit of the second crusade. Encouraged by the pope, he did not plead with kings in vain. The King of France, Louis the Seventh, enlisting as a soldier in the holy war, along with a great number of the princes of

* De Guignes, vol. iii., p. 124, 125. † Will. Tyr., p. 871-883.
‡ De Guignes, p. 129.

France, took the cross (*se croisèrent*) at Vezelay. The emperor, Conrad III., rivalling the king in holy zeal, and with him a part of Germany coping with France, resolved to undertake the deliverance of Palestine. There they first assembled at Ptolemais. This storm, says De Guignes, which seemed to have been raised for the destruction of the Attabeks, at that time the most powerful enemies of the Franks, burst impetuously on the kingdom of Damascus, the regent of which, seeking deliverance from their common enemy, courted the alliance of the Franks. But Damascus was the richest remaining prize in Syria; and three kings, those of Jerusalem, of Germany, and of France, heading their respective hosts, sat down together in hostile array before it. On the north and west, contiguous orchards formed, as it were, a forest five miles broad, which itself was reckoned among the fortifications of Damascus. To feed on its abundant and delicious fruits, some of which were new to the taste of many German Crusaders, as well as to bereave the inhabitants of them, the Franks, after desperate and bloody conflicts, held the princely forest as their own, and drove those, whose enemies they were, within the walls of the city. In a protracted siege, the citizens began to despair of safety, and to meditate flight. But the hope of conquest became the cause of contention. The second Crusaders, more rash than the first, disputed for the prize before it was won. The purposed possession, or division of the unconquered city, broke up the unity of its besiegers. There was thus jealousy, if not treachery, in the camp. The mode of assault was changed; the ground that had been gained was lost; the King of Moussul drew near with an army for the defence of the city; it was time for the chief of the Attabeks to display the power which they had come to destroy; and the siege that could not be renewed was raised, and the King of Jerusalem, as before, together with the Emperor of Germany and the King of France, left a country which they had laid waste, but a city which they could neither take nor destroy, and which joyfully and proudly witnessed the retreat of the baffled monarchs.*

The numerous armies which, in the middle of the twelfth century, arrived in Syria from Europe, might, in the estimation of a historian, "have been amply sufficient, by their combined energies, to overthrow the rising empire of the

* De Guignes, p. 129–131. Will. Tyr., p. 910–913.

Attabeks." But so greatly was their power paralyzed by their dissensions, that they could not preserve from the ravages and rapacity of their enemies the territory and the cities of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which they had come to uphold and to extend. Though the Attabeks warred with each other, and thus added to the devastation of the land, the valiant and famous Noureddin was ever ready to encounter and repel the Crusaders, though headed by Christian knights and kings. He defeated them at Tagra. So soon as they retreated from Damascus, he besieged the castle of *Nessa*, encountering which, Raimond, prince of Antioch, was defeated in battle and slain; and his head, as a trophy of victory, was sent to Bagdad. The triumph of Noureddin spread consternation among all the Franks. The *territory of Antioch* was next his prey; and he penetrated even to the monastery of *St. Simeon* and the mountains beyond it. He took the castle of *Harem*, about ten miles from Antioch, and garrisoned it strongly. It repelled the attacks of the King of Jerusalem; and he who so recently had pressed the siege of Damascus, fled for safety to Antioch. Noureddin wasted all *its territories*. He besieged and took the castle of *Apamea*, one of the strongest fortresses held by the Franks in that vicinity when they pillaged the *land of Hamah*. Joscelin, count of Edessa, was the reputed "flail" of the Mussulmen. Noureddin assembled the Turkomans against him and slew him. Baldwin drew his forces to Antioch. The Emperor of Constantinople purchased from the widowed countess, at a large price, the country she was unable to defend; and his Greek soldiers took possession of city after city that then remained in the hands of the Franks. But they were speedily driven from them all by the victorious Noureddin, and, together with the retreating king, made Antioch their refuge. Noureddin filled the whole region with his legions. Bitter were the lamentations when the Crusaders who had settled in the fertile region which skirts the base of the mountains of Amanus, abandoned it to infidels, and passed as defeated and desolated pilgrims from the land of which they had taken possession, in the vain expectation that it was destined to be theirs and that of their seed forever. The patriarchate of Antioch was shorn at once of three archbishoprics, Edessa, Hierapolis, and Coricensis.* Nou-

* Will. Tyr., p. 920, 921.

reddin greatly and speedily extended his dominion; and that prince of the Attabeks, whose power the first monarchs of Europe had come to destroy, was lord of Damascus in six years after they had besieged it in vain* (A.D. 1154).

The taking of Damascus gave him the sovereignty of its kingdom. He laid siege to the strong city of *Paneas*, and surrounded it with a great number of engines. A vast multitude of Arabs was dispersed in its vicinity and occupied the forest. The Franks, faithless to treaties, showed them no mercy, and raised up against themselves the armies of all the Mussulmen princes.†

While incessant war thus raged in the north, and a large portion of Syria was lost forever to the Crusaders, the rest of the land was not in a less troublous state, and they were doomed at the same time to encounter other enemies than the sovereign of the Attabeks. So insecure was the kingdom of Jerusalem, that a multitude of Turks surrounded that city, and, occupying the Mount of Olives, threatened it with destruction‡ (A.D. 1152). Jerusalem was assailed in the absence of the king, and while the greater part of the soldiery were assembled at Neapolis. Defenceless as it was, its inhabitants, prompted by fanaticism and despair, seized their arms, and, rushing furiously by night on their unsuspecting foes, drove them from the precincts of the holy city. Pursuing them on the road to Jericho by a mountainous route, they slew those in the more open places with the sword, and precipitated others from rocks, while the slaughter was so great that the multitude of slain impeded their pursuit. Vengeance overmastered avarice; and the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem dealt so relentlessly with their unresisting foes, that they slew like beasts the dismounted horsemen, wearied with their flight, and loaded with their arms. Despising the spoil, and declining their share of the booty, they were so fiercely bent on carnage, that they accounted it to be the greatest gain to be imbrued with the blood of their enemies.§ Such, literally, is the archbishop's description. He adds, that the flying Turks were met by the soldiers of the cross from Neapolis, who had secured the ford of the Jordan, that their enemies might not escape them, who, fleeing thither for safety, rushed on slaughter. As an illustration that the hand of the Lord was upon them, he quotes the Scripture, *That which the locust has left has*

* De Guignes, p. 178. † Ibid., p. 179. ‡ Will. Tyr., p. 922. § Ibid., p. 923.

the caterpillar eaten. The prophecy does, indeed, relate to the desolators and desolation of the land of Israel. But these words do not terminate the predicted judgment; and, as interpreted by the prelate, the Crusaders themselves soon supplied another illustration: for such relentless victors, who returned to profane the Temple with their presence, and the name of God with their praise, could not always pass unpunished, but were rather made to know that the hand of the Lord was also upon them, and that they were not the people to keep the city of Jerusalem. Yet, as the wicked of the earth who made a prey of the land—according to the symbolical interpretation of the prelate, they illustrated the word of the Lord—*That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten:* and it is farther added, as may farther be seen, *that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.** The cry of destruction on destruction did not cease with the Crusades.

Victorious in the south, though vanquished in the north of Syria, the Crusaders soon after pressed impetuously the siege of *Ascalon.* They went at first to ravage its environs, without the hope of taking or even the purpose of besieging it. Such was the strength of the city, that, after having resisted and repelled every attempt to take it for more than half a century when other cities and fortresses of Syria had yielded to the power and owned the authority of the Crusaders, the task was not only felt to be arduous, but was deemed almost impossible. It was not only the last fortress of the Egyptians, or of the Phatimate dynasty in Syria, but it seemed to stand alone—the impregnable Ascalon. Its walls sheltered the warriors who had often struck Jerusalem with terror, and its siege was made a trial of the strength of Christendom. The king, the patriarch, the archbishops of Tyre, Cæsarea, and Nazareth, and the other lords of the kingdom, both princes and prelates, and the soldiers of the cross from all their cities, laid siege to it by land, together with a fleet by sea. After a continued ineffective siege for two months, while the approach of the great festival brought many Crusaders to Palestine, other work, then deemed strictly analogous and alike meritorious, had to be done, than the keeping of a holy festival, even beside the supposed sepulchre of Jesus. A royal interdict prohibited the

* Joel, i., 4.

return of any Christian to Europe, and all were ordered to betake themselves to the siege, and every ship's station was appointed there. Thither flocked all the soldiers of the cross, and the army was augmented daily. The whole power of the Crusaders brought to bear upon this single point, is an index of the strength of Ascalon, and of the importance it maintained. Notwithstanding all that art and arms could do, and all the desperate daring of the boldest steel-clad knights of Europe, at a time when chivalry had reached its height; and notwithstanding the massy rocks thrown by vast engines into the city, and the moles and towers that were raised against it, for month after month, during which there was scarcely a day which slaughter could not count its own, defiance was still shouted from the walls and bulwarks of Ascalon; and they withstood every assault, till an elemental war, not to be resisted, brought them partly down. The besieged, intent at all hazards on the overthrow of a tower of the enemy, from which the most destructive projectiles were cast into the city, filled the intervening space with ignitable wood mixed with pitch, on which oil was poured and all the most combustible materials were heaped. But when the fire was at its height, a tempest, rising suddenly, drove the flames in their utmost fury, during the whole night, right against the contiguous part of the city wall, which finally fell with a thundering crash, that instantaneously appalled the city and roused the whole army.* The rule of Christian—but truly most unchristian—warfare was, that "in taking a city by storm, whatever any one first seized was his and his heirs' forever." Honour and glory, even at the greatest or brightest, are often but shadowy forms and empty names, and have nothing of the *substance* of the faith of a Christian. Stimulated by avarice no less than by honour, the noble Knights of the Temple, with their master at their head, rushed into the breach; and that the richest spoil might be theirs alone, they suffered none to follow them. Slain to a man, they merited their fate. Ascalon would not yield to an unconditional surrender. It could yet make its terms with the foe; and its brave defenders, with their wives and children, and much of their goods, marched in safety from the city where the Templars found a grave.*

The fall of Ascalon did not bring peace to Palestine.

* Will. Tyr., p. 923, 930.

A city was taken, but a treaty was broken. Baldwin had sworn solemnly to maintain peace with the Turks and Arabs, who at that time peacefully tended their flocks and herds in the vicinity of Paneas. Dwelling mutually in peace; undisturbed by their Moslem brethren, as unitedly members of both the great Mohammedan families; secured in their possessions by the very enemies of their faith, to whom they had yielded their city only on that solemn pledge—if there were any people in the land that could find *peace*, these were they. Their flocks multiplied, their wealth increased. But the king had many and urgent creditors. His debts could not but be discharged, in honour, by whatever means; and as one king of Jerusalem had paid his ransom by revenges on his enemies, another plundered the property he was sworn to protect, and slew those whom it was his duty to defend. The soldiers of the cross—if that term which they bore may be used without profanation—were summoned. From Jerusalem they went forth; and, headed by their king, rushed suddenly on helpless multitudes, fearing nothing; and all who, on the sudden surprise, escaped not by flight and concealment in the thickets of the forest, were put to the sword, or delivered over to cruel servitude. Such and so unheard of was the abundance of the prey as to be unparalleled in European countries.*

The surreptitious spoil and murderous slaughter quickly brought avenging woes on the king and his kingdom. All the Moslems, whether Turks or Arabs, were thereby united against him. *Paneas* was besieged by Noureddin with an ardour unremitted by night or day; defeated in a desperate sally, the retreating citizens re-entered the city mingled with their enemies, who with fearful slaughter forced them into the castle. The king and his army, coming to their relief, and falling into a snare, were unconsciously surrounded by the forces of Noureddin, who exacted of them, without mercy, the innocent blood they had shed. The army was destroyed and dispersed; the king escaped with extreme hazard of his life to the castle of *Safed*, and many noble knights were made prisoners of war. Noureddin again besieged Paneas and its castle, which defied his power till relieved again by the king, accompanied by the

* Facta est igitur manubiarum et predæ tanta et tam inaudita multitudo, ut par ei in nostris regionibus non dicatur fuisse.—W. Tyr., p. 939.

Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli. He left it little else than in ruins, from which it was speedily raised again, at a time when cities and fortresses of Israel were prizes contended for by princes and kings.

Amalric, his brother, succeeded Baldwin III., and was king of Jerusalem from A.D. 1162 to A.D. 1173. Though much remains to be told, enough may have been said to show, with the definitiveness of historical facts, that in the Middle Ages, Syria had cities that could withstand many a fierce and lengthened siege; and that, while conqueror after conqueror strove to repair or to rebuild in order to keep them, desolator came after desolator to lay waste the land, and to take or destroy its cities.

Amalric, in the words of De Guignes, engaged in a war disastrous to Noureddin, to the Franks, and the caliphs of Egypt. The last were entirely destroyed; the Franks lost Jerusalem, and the family of Noureddin great part of their power; and the famous Saladin ascended the throne of Egypt.* In these and other disastrous days to Syria, defeat was rapidly followed by victory, and victory by defeat. Noureddin, while ravaging the territory of *Tripoli*, was himself defeated in the next battle, and his army almost annihilated, while he scarcely escaped with his life. Thirsting for vengeance, he forced *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, and other cities to replace the horses, the silver, the men, and all the materials of war which he had lost.† The veteran hero, with his own forces, and those which came to his aid from his brother the King of Moussul and other neighbouring princes, was soon at the head of a new and numerous army, accompanied by Faccardine and his troops. He reinvested *Harem*, and strove to beat down its walls. They resisted all his efforts, till he was forced to raise the siege on the approach of a vast, or, as designated, innumerable army of Crusaders, commanded by many princes and nobles, among whom were the son of the captive Prince of Antioch, the Count of Tripoli, the Governor of Cilicia, Hughes of Lesignan, and Joscelin, esteemed by the Moslems the bravest of them all, together with Toros, the king of Armenia, whose forces were united with theirs. The now wary Noureddin retired, not to fly, but to fight. Ten thousand Franks lay dead on the field; a greater number were taken

* De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 185. † Ibid., p. 183. Will. Tyr., p. 960.

prisoners, among whom were the princes who were carried captive to Aleppo; and *Harem*, again besieged, became the prey of the victor.* Hopeless of assailing successfully the fortifications of Antioch, his army ravaged resistlessly all the country to *Laodicea* and *Souaidea*.

Noureddin, having rendered his name immortal by his victories against the Christians, besieging *Paneas*, forced the King of Jerusalem to raise the siege of Palusium. Previously rebuilt by the Franks, Paneas was taken and fortified anew. He sent an army, under Schirkouh, a Kurd, the uncle of Saladin, who accompanied him, throughout the territories of the Franks, and took a fortress near Sidon, surrendered by treason, and another beyond the Jordan, defended in vain by the Templars.† This success in Syria tempted him to aspire to the conquest of Egypt, when the Franks lent their aid to the sinking Phatimites, threatened by their common foe. Saladin displayed his generalship and prowess in the land of the Pharaohs, which finally became his own by art no less than by arms.

While the rising hero, who was soon to eclipse them all, was paving his way to empire, the land of Syria was open to Noureddin, who attacked the towns of *Saphia* and *Arima*, and took the castle of *Akaph* and that of *Dgiaber*, near the Euphrates.‡ But, more than the conquests of Noureddin, the establishment of Saladin in Egypt spread alarm among all the Franks. A council was held at Jerusalem; and, for the protection or preservation of the Holy Land, the aid was invoked of Louis, king of France, Henry of England, William of Sicily, and of other princes of Europe. But the danger was imminent, and, ere they and their forces reached the shores of Syria, more than two hundred galleys, loaded with men, and arms, and military engines, sailed from Constantinople, and landed at Ascalon; and Europe was moved from side to side, to save Jerusalem and its kingdom when threatened by a Kurd. It had to be defended as it had been won—by the sword; and the wars of the Crusaders seemed again to begin.§

But the hand of the Lord fell heavier on the chief cities of Syria than did the human instruments of his wrath, whether they came from Asia, Africa, or Europe. At his voice the earth shakes, and the strongest bulwarks fall in a mo-

* De Guignes, tom iii., p. 189, 190.
† Ibid., p. 191.
‡ Ibid., p. 200, 201.
§ Ibid., p. 207.

ment; and, as if stricken by the Almighty, Syrian cities and fortresses became the easier prey of mortal combatants. In June, 1170, the greater part of the cities of Syria and Palestine were destroyed by an earthquake, unexampled in that age. *Antioch*, then the metropolis of many provinces, as formerly of many kingdoms, was strewed with the ground; the walls, and the strong towers along their circuit, the churches and public edifices, were overthrown by so great a shock, that, for years thereafter, immense expenditure in money and indefatigable labours could scarcely restore them to a state of mediocrity. According to historians the most guarded in their statements, the chief cities were overthrown, and their inhabitants buried in their ruins; among these were numbered *Baalbec*, *Hemesa*, *Hamah*, *Schaizar* or Cæsarea, and *Aleppo*. In Aleppo not a single dwelling was left; and the inhabitants that survived encamped without the ruined city. *Tripoli*, a noble and populous city, was so shattered at midnight in a moment, that scarcely one of all its houses was a place of safety. The whole city was like a mound of stones, a heap covering the entombed citizens, a public sepulchre. The strongest towers of *Tyre* were thrown down. While the hand of the Lord was thus upon the land, the fiercest warriors were appalled; there was a truce between enemies, while their cities were falling without the hand of man. For three or four months, or even more, earthquakes were felt three or four times, and frequently oftener, either in the day or in the night. The stoutest heart was shaken by the slightest motion. The wrath of man was suspended, and the power of man ceased, when the armour of steel became as a winding-sheet, and the firmest bulwarks a grave. Towns half buried, their walls fallen, lay open to the incursions of enemies, whether Franks or Turks; but for a time no one dared to enter. When the earthquakes ceased, the work of reparation began, and among all the hostile foes in Syria, each being busied with his own, labours for self-defence were carried on by night and day.*

Before the close of the same year famine raged in the land which earthquakes had shaken; and war, *another messenger of the Lord*, came again within the borders, but not to rest till the idolatrous Christians, under whom, no less than under the heathen, the land and the holy city were

* Will. Tyr., p. 985, 986. De Guignes, p. 210.

polluted, should be driven from Jerusalem, and renounce, but in name, its sovereignty forever.

Saladin and Noureddin were alike intent in carrying on, after a brief suspense, the war in Syria. The former laid siege to the fortress of *Dareun* near Gaza, defeated Amalric, and entered the city of *Gaza;* but the castle successfully resisted his power. He subsequently besieged the towns of *Karak* and *Shobec;* but such was their strength, that he spent many days before them in vain. He desolated and depopulated the region beyond Jordan. Noureddin laid waste the territories and the very environs of *Antioch* and *Tripoli*, and attacked the towns of *Saphia* and *Arima*, and the castle of *Arca*.* But his death (A.D. 1174) wrought a great change in Syria, introduced a revolution in one of its kingdoms, and prepared the way for the subversion of another.

Saladin soon became Lord of Damascus as well as Sultan of Egypt. He took the city, but not the castle of *Emesa;* made himself master of Hamah, which pertained to Faccardine, and, after a second siege of Aleppo, which he disputed with the son of Noureddin, the cities of *Baalbec*, *Maara*, and *Kafartab* submitted to his authority. While he was thus occupied in conquering for himself a kingdom in the north of Syria, the Franks, alarmed at his conquests, tried every means of arresting his course. According to the common fate of ever-devastated Syria, when the territories he had won were disfurnished of troops in reducing other lands and cities to his power, the Crusaders entered on new raids, and passing the Jordan, and traversing the forest of *Paneas*, they completely pillaged the territory of *Damascus*, reaching to the vicinity of the city. The inhabitants of the environs of *Palmyra* were made prisoners, their goods pillaged, and their lands laid waste. The brother of Saladin, the Governor of Damascus, was defeated; and before the dominion of Saladin was firmly established, many Mussulmen princes carried on war with each other; and the whole northern region was a scene of incessant warfare, till Saladin was finally victorious over all his other enemies, and all the power of his two kingdoms of Egypt and Syria was brought to bear with exterminating vengeance on the Franks.†

* De Guignes, p. 213, 214, 216. Will. Tyr., p. 986, 987, 993.
† De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 1, 224-237.

But the kingdom of Jerusalem was not given up by the soldiers of Europe without dreadful and deathlike struggles. *Ascalon* and *Ramlah*, as in the first wars of the Crusades on the shores of Syria, were the scenes of battles in which the swords of the Franks were fleshed in the Moslems; but the blades of Damascus retaliated the slaughter, and the arrows of the Turks and Arabs descended in showers upon their enemies. Defeated at first with a terrible slaughter of his troops, Saladin was finally victorious. A religious war, more desperate than at first, was carried on throughout Syria. *Ascalon and the seashore were again a field of blood.* After the victory of the Christians they pursued their routed foes, and for twelve miles, says the archbishop, there did not cease to be a continued slaughter of the enemy.* The hostile armies alternately desolated each other's territories. The king, Baldwin IV., after his victory, broke furiously into those of Saladin; and the rich territory of *Paneas* was specially the scene of renewed desolation.

But from north to south, throughout its whole extent, the kingdom of Jerusalem was the prey of the renovated armies of Saladin.† The battle of Tiberias, in which his forces were estimated at more than two hundred thousand, and in which twelve hundred knights of Europe fought till most of them were slain and they could rally no more, was the deathblow of the power of the Crusaders in Palestine, from which neither Richard of England, though "lion-hearted," nor Louis of France, its sainted king, were ever able to recover them. The King of Jerusalem and the Grand-master of the Temple, together with many nobles, were his prisoners. Most of the cities and castles which the Christians possessed, both in the mountains and along the coast, were speedily his own, viz., *Tiberias*, *Akka*, *Cæsarea*, *Kaipha*, *Sephouria*, *Shaoikaif*, *Phiala*, *Jaffa*, *Talnin*, *Seid*, *Beyrout*, *Dgiobail*, *Laodicea*, *Sahioun*, *Derbisac*, *Bagras*, *Krak*, *Sephed*, *Gaza*, *Ramlah*, as all enumerated by Herbelot and De Guignes. Jerusalem fell, and the Franks who survived the siege were driven from the holy city, which for nearly a century they had profaned by their cruel deeds, their fierce contentions, and their abominable idolatries. The piece of old wood which they bore with that name, and which was taken in the battle of Tiberias from the hands of a Romish bishop, was all they saw or knew of the cross of Christ.

* Will. Tyr., p. 1010. † Ibid., p. 1015, 1017, 1025-1032, 1037-1040.

The field of the Crusaders in Syria was narrowed to a space along the *seacoast*, where the Lord still *appointed the sword*. Though the statement by Gibbon that "Noureddin waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria," cannot convey any adequate idea of the destruction and desolation caused in that country by his hand, yet a few extracts from that historian's description of the last and lingering struggles of the Crusades on their narrowed field may suffice to close up this summary notice of these desolating wars. The small portion of the land that remained in the hands of the Turks still continued to *bereave the nations of men*.

"The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures that represented, in lively colours, the servitude and profanation of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility of Europe; the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England, assumed the cross. The Italians embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They were next speedily followed by the most eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western Isles. The powerful succour of France, Frise, and Denmark filled a hundred vessels.* The siege of Acre lasted near two years, and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with fiercer and more destructive rage. At the sound of the holy trumpet, the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces, assembled under the servant of the Prophet; his camp was pitched within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured night and day for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of fortune, that in one attack the sultan forced his way into the city; that in one sally the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. The Latin camp was thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims. After every resource had been tried and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate—a capitulation was granted. By the conquest of *Acre*, the Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. The minister and historian of Saladin computes that their num-

* Gibbon's Hist., vol. xi., p. 119.

bers, at different periods, amounted to five or six hundred thousand; that more than one hundred thousand Christians were slain; that a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck; and that a small portion of this mighty host would return in safety to their native countries."* "After the surrender of Acre and the departure of Philip (king of France), the King of England led the Crusaders to the recovery of the *seacoast*, and the cities of *Cæsarea* and *Jaffa* were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of one hundred miles, *from Acre to Ascalon, was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days.*"†

While the Franks lost all but a fragment of their kingdom, partially enlarged by the excommunicated Frederic, emperor of Germany, who entered Jerusalem in triumph, St. Louis of France, at the head of the sixth Crusade, never reached the Holy Land; the rest of Syria did not long repose in peace; but the temporary calm, as the presage of a storm, was terminated "by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians. Flying from the arms of the Moguls, these shepherds of the Caspian rolled headlong on Syria, and the union of the Franks with the sultans of *Aleppo*, *Hems*, and *Damascus*, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens."‡

In the middle of the thirteenth century the reign of the Mamelukes commenced. "*Antioch* was finally occupied and ruined by Bondocdar, or Bibars, sultan of Egypt and Syria. The maritime towns of *Laodicea*, *Galata*, *Tripoli*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Jaffa*, and the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars, successively fell.§ Sultan Khalil marched against Acre at the head of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and forty thousand foot; his train of artillery (if I may use the word) was numerous and weighty; the separate timbers of a single engine were transported in one hundred wagons; and the royal historian Abulfeda, who served with the troops of Hamah, was himself a spectator of the holy war. After a siege of thirty-three days, the

* Gibbon, vol. xi., p. 136–141.
† Ibid., p. 143.
‡ Ibid., p. 156.
§ Ibid., p. 166.

double wall was forced by the Moslems; the principal tower yielded to their engines; the city was stormed; and death or slavery was the lot of sixty thousand Christians. Of five hundred knights, only ten were left alive. By the command of the sultan, *the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished*, and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE."*

The coast of Syria, and, lastly, that alone, did "long resound with the world's debate." There, and there only, did a king of England and of France, with the Emperor of Germany and many other princes of Europe, contend side by side on the same battle-field; there, and there only, did princes and potentates from the farthest West meet in hostile array with those of the farthest East, and Europe, and Asia, and Africa contended, though unconsciously, for the possession of that covenanted land, which, according to the Word of the Lord, became the prey of strangers, the spoil of the wicked of the earth, though destined to be the everlasting possession of the house of Israel alone. Kings of Europe, with the pilgrim's staff in their hands, drew from it their highest titles, and the noblest of European knights took from it their origin and their order; and thither, in the pride of their hearts, they went forth in thousands; but their lances were shivered in the plains of Palestine, where their bodies were entombed, and where feudalism itself did fall.

Though the last battles of the Crusades were fought *along the seacoast where the Lord had appointed the sword*,† and Europe rallied its strength in vain to penetrate into the interior of the land, no portion of it had rest; and the summary record, as above given, of the close of the crusading wars, can convey but a very partial, as well as most inadequate, idea of the troubles that were then multiplied on Syria.

"A more unjust and absurd constitution," says Gibbon, "cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynasties were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian bands; and the four-and-twenty beys, or military chiefs, have ever

* Gibbon, vol. xi., p. 167, 168. † Jer., xlvii., 6, 7.

been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants; they produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the First, with the republic."* Egypt, as prophesied, had become a *base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms*,† and yet, fallen as it was, it lorded over Syria. That land on which the curses of the covenant had fallen, had no charter of its liberties to produce; and when the "kingdom of Jerusalem" had vanished, it became the subjugated vassal state, and the prey of the "basest of kingdoms." The word Mamelukes literally signifies slaves, and such they were, as the name imports. Turkish and Circassian slaves, raised into officers of their army by the successors of Saladin, who, with such power in their hands, made themselves masters of Egypt, and establishing there a "military republic," turned Syria into a land garrisoned by foreign tyrants. But instead of resting under them, the land of Israel, like its expatriated people, was *spoiled evermore*. Battles and sieges ceased not, though the combatants were changed. Turkomans and Arabs fiercely withstood the Mamelukes, and, when subdued, rebelled. Syria, like the wicked, while still given into such hands, was as the troubled sea that cannot rest. The lesser waves beat incessantly against each other, till, as at other seasons, a higher wave for the time overwhelmed them all, and left them again more agitated than before. Bibars, a sultan of the Baharite dynasty, who occupied and ruined Antioch and many other cities, and scourged the Franks from the Phœnician coast, had also to encounter mightier foes. Holagou, emperor of the Moguls, before the Franks were driven out of it, entered Syria with four hundred thousand men. The army of the Moslems was defeated with great slaughter, and pursued to the gates of Aleppo. That city was besieged, and when the machines of the enemy were brought to bear upon the weakest part of the wall, it fell; and the city, when taken, was given up to pillage for six days. Partly through treachery and force, *Damascus* was taken, and its castle, together with that of *Baalbec*, was destroyed. *Maarah*, *Hama*, *Emesa*, *Harem*, &c., were besieged and ravaged. The fortifications of *Aleppo* and other cities were razed. *Adgeloun* was besieged, taken, and ruined. The ravages of the Moguls in Syria, on their first invasion under Holagou (A.D. 1259, 1260), extended from the Euphrates to

* Gibbon, vol. xi., p. 164. † Ezek., xxix., 14, 15.

Tiberias, where their army was entirely vanquished, and their general slain. Driven from Syria, they speedily returned, retook *Aleppo*, massacred the inhabitants of Carnebia, besieged *Emesa* and *Apamea*, and laid waste their territories.*

Abaka-il-Khan, the son and successor of Holagou, sent ambassadors, and entered into treaty with the pope and all the Christian princes, and, striving to drive the Mamelukes from Syria, subjected it to redoubled desolation. Having ravaged the country from Aleppo to Emesa, a great battle, not without its parallel in Syria from the conjoined victory and defeat of the respective united armies, was fought in the great, and, as then it was, beautiful plain of Emesa. Moguls, Georgians, Armenians, and Persians were ranged on the one side; Egyptians, Arabs, Turkomans, &c., on the other. The Mussulmen fled before the Moguls, who believed that the victory was theirs, and pursued their vanquished foes amid a terrible carnage. But their ally, the King of Armenia, who led on the Christians, met with no less terrible discomfiture, and, fleeing from the land whose invaders were devoted to destruction, lost all his officers, and almost all his army.†

But the time had come when neither aid from Europe, nor the alliance of the Moguls, could sustain or restore the fallen kingdom of Jerusalem. The successor of Abaka, adopting the Mohammedan faith, took the name of Ahmed, and became the persecutor of the Christians and the friend of the Moslems. The greater part of the churches were destroyed, and the Christians exiled (A.D. 1283).‡

Before the close of the same century, "the wars of Syria" began anew between the Khan of the Moguls and the Sultan of Egypt. The whole country was alternately the prey, from end to end, of the one and of the other: the Moguls at one time, when victorious, ravaging the environs of Gaza and the borders of Egypt, and the Mamelukes, or Syrians, at another, recovering their lost dominion in the farthest extremities of Syria. Each sought the destruction of the other. The Egyptians, when defeated, retired beyond the desert, the Moguls beyond the Euphrates, on the north of Syria, alike to recruit their strength and to renew the war. The fated Syria, from one extremity to the other, lay thus be-

* De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 250–257. † Ibid., p. 258–262.
‡ Ibid., p. 263.

tween them, and was the prize for which, in their appointed times, they fought. Though the Sultan of Egypt counted it his own, and the Mussulmen deemed it their own land, yet when Gazan, the Tartar emperor, crossed the Euphrates, and spread over the regions of Sarmin, Maarah, and Antioch, and threatened the entire destruction of the Mohammedans, they shut up their cattle and grain in their fortresses, and set fire to all that they could not save. The Mogul army was so numerous that it occupied the space of three days journeying in length from Bacca to Beer; but such, then, were the contests for Syria and within it, that the battles between such numerous hosts were so long contested and fierce, that victory long hung in the balance; and when, at last, the Moguls, after immense slaughter, gave way, the Mussulmen retired to Hamah. To its environs the Moguls speedily returned, and advanced to *Emesa*, which in such desperate warfare they took, after every Mussulman had been put to the sword. Another battle, contested for two days, terminated in the overthrow of the Moguls, who had power to devour and to despoil, but not to retain possession of Syria, which the Mamelukes enslaved.*

No less than in other ages, Syria, under the Mamelukes, was given unto *strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil.* All the different corps of their army amounted to nearly three hundred thousand men. Each emir or chief had a portion of land assigned him; the peasantry furnished provisions, and bread was distributed among the soldiers.† Insurrectionary movements repeatedly indicated the severity of the bondage; but the descendants of ancient conquerors had in their turn to experience that peace was not the portion of those who dwelt in a land on which the curses of the covenant had fallen. Earthquakes, levelling the walls of many cities, had paved the way for Mameluke domination in Syria; and when their dominion was drawing to a close, their power was broken by the renowned Tamerlane, and the conquests of a Tartar prepared the way for the subjection of Syria to the Ottoman yoke.

"The Syrian emirs were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion; they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamelukes, in the temper of their swords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cit-

* De Guignes, tom. iii., p. 274. † Ibid., tom. iv., p. 251.

ies, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages; and, instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union, and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire. The rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives, and, after a short defence, the citadel—the impregnable citadel of Aleppo—was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. The streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice, but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled up in columns and pyramids. The Moguls celebrated the feast of the victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls, and Timour consented to raise the siege if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom, each article of nine pieces. But no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty, imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold, and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved the murder of the grandson of Mohammed. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone rescued in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. Timour, in his return to the Euphrates, delivered Aleppo to the flames.* In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches."†

* Gibbon, vol. xii., p. 23, 24. † Ibid., p. 25.

When the power of the Mamelukes was thus broken, and the Moguls had vanished with their prey, the time seemed to be come when Syria could free itself from a foreign yoke; and many of its emirs, stimulated by ambition or revenge, strove to cast off the sovereignty of the Sultan of Egypt. One of these, Dgiakam, declaring for the rebels, made himself master of Tripoli, Hamah, and Aleppo. Another, Sheik Mahmoud, sent an army to take *Saphet* by surprise; but, failing in the assault, he prepared many engines to throw (burning) naphtha and stones into the city, and (A.D. 1405) laid siege to it with a numerous army in vain.* Syria became the scene of successive civil wars, and Egypt was invaded by the "rebels." But the sultan, with an unexampled intrepidity, pursued them, till, driven from city to city, Sheik Mahmoud was besieged in the castle of *Sarkud* beyond *Bosra*. Thither machines were transported from *Sobaiba*, *Saphet*, and *Damascus*, which were raised against the castle, and from which stones of sixty pounds' weight were thrown. When such means were ineffectual, another machine of still larger dimensions and power, from which projectiles of eighty-six pounds were cast, was carried from Damascus in separate parts, the materials of which formed the burden of two hundred camels. The castle was finally delivered up, and the rebel chief resumed the government of Tripoli (A.D. 1409).† New revolts succeeded, and new sieges took place. The governors of Gaza and Damascus raised the standard of rebellion, and were joined by those of Hamah, Aleppo, Roum, Tripoli, and many others (A.D. 1415).‡ When the Crusaders had long ceased to descend in armed myriads on its shores, Syria was divided against itself, and by a twofold intestine war strove to cast off the tyranny of Circassian slaves, the lords of Egypt. Again and again the sultan brought his armies to quell the insurrectionary commotions and to perpetuate the bondage, and the ravages of war were alternated in Egypt and Syria till the second dynasty of the Mamelukes was brought to an end by a foreign power; for, ere a third part of the fifteenth century had elapsed, the Ottomans, more fell destroyers *by peace* than others by war, overthrew their empire, and took possession of Syria, as if in order to accomplish what such multitudinous hosts and incessant wars could not effect, and

* De Guignes' Hist., tom. v., p. 294. † Ibid., p. 303, 304.
‡ Ibid., p. 311.

to reduce it, in the progress of ages of decay, to the last degree of predicted desolation which the land was to reach, till its expatriated, but still covenanted, children should return.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF SYRIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES, ETC.

THE Middle Ages may be said to present to view the middle stage in the progress of the general desolation and depopulation of Syria. Of cities that anciently exulted in their opulence and splendour, many had passed into oblivion. Jerusalem, which fell an easy prey to 20,000 Crusaders, was not like that Jerusalem which long withstood the might of imperial Rome, and in whose fall a million of human victims perished. When restored after many centuries to be the metropolis of a *kingdom*, it was not like the city in which Solomon reigned: and scarcely a shadow of his glory rested on the heaven-stricken hills of Judah, when, after the close of many crusading wars, an Emperor of Germany, who saw little more of the land, could make a mockery of the kingdom of Jerusalem compared to that of Naples. Antioch could not boast of nine hundred thousand inhabitants, when it could yield up as prisoners but a ninth part of the number, at a time when the Crusaders finally lost the first city of Syria they had taken. Nor could Kinnesrin, at that time as down to the days of the Saracens, pay, besides gold, a redeeming tribute of figs and other fruits, in loads told by the thousand. The cities and towns of Ephraim and Judah, with villages attached to each, were not then numbered by hundreds, as in the days of Joshua; and few of the sixty cities of the kingdom of Bashan remained in their populousness and strength, to check the ravages and impede the march of a crusading army. Marks of decay were manifest throughout the land; and magnificent remains, now greatly shrunk in their dimensions, bespoke magnificent cities then no more. Ammon was a heap, the ancient capital of Moab a village. Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, were no longer exalted unto heaven,

but lay low at the word of the Lord, whose voice in the days of their visitation they would not hear. The cities of Galilee, through all of which Jesus had preached, were not what they had been in the time of Josephus, nor could the population cope with what in had been, or the greatest of their villages, as the least had done, count 15,000 men. Of the cities that fell in the days of Vespasian, or were given to the flames and devoted to utter destruction in those of Adrian, few had risen. When invaded by the Crusaders, many parts of Syria bore witness of judgments: and far less, it was not, in the midst of these desolating wars or after they had ceased, what it had been in the days of its prosperity and excellence, when millions of Israelites, blessed of the Lord, lacked not anything in the land, or even when subjugated by a foreign foe it was ranked by Pliny as "formerly the greatest of countries."*

But, fallen as it was, after a renewal of "the slow ravages of despotism," and after spoiler had contended with spoiler to seize and to secure it for a prey, and strangers had again and again overthrown and devoured it, Syria could still attract and reward new spoliators; and it strove, age after age, in defiance of them all, to maintain its natural and rightful designation of a *goodly land;* and, in fact, held out many a prize for which nations contended, and which, when seized, became anew a bone of contention between princes, and prelates, and kings. Such was the attractiveness of one of the first cities taken by the Crusaders, that the walls had to be broken down that it might not keep them back from the deliverance of Jerusalem: and however much the lips of talkers in after ages could blaspheme the land, and the pens of scoffers write down as contemptible villages most of the cities that ever had existed there, yet neither the cities nor the land were despised or defamed, when the most powerful monarchs of Europe, with their hundreds of knights and thousands of warriors, toiled in vain month after month before them; and when, in their predatory raids, they carried away from helpless peasantry such an abundance of spoil, that the amount could not be told in their own land, as capable of ever being realized in them by any spoliators.

The fact, though hitherto little regarded, that there are direct and conclusive records of the statistical or geograph-

* Syria quondam *terrarum maxima*.—Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. v., 13.

ical state of Syria in the Middle Ages, more ample and detailed than the most ancient geographers or historians supply, is well worthy of a passing illustration, as it may serve to show how great are the blessings guarantied by covenant to Israel, in respect to the same territorial possessions. Long after the kingdom had been established with David and Solomon, whose sovereignty was owned from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the Red Sea to the entering in of Hamath, the Prophet Ezekiel, looking to the time of the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, records, among precious promises, this word of the Lord: "*I will settle you after your old estates, and will do better unto you than at your beginning.*"* And as such is the promise, so assuredly much more, when the *mountains of Israel shall shoot forth their branches and yield their fruit to his people Israel*, shall the Lord do far *better unto them* than he did to those fanatical unbelievers and apostate idolaters who defiled the land by their iniquities, and rent it asunder by their murderous wars; to whom he gave his pleasant land for a prey and for a spoil; and as to whom, though his sentence against their evil works was not executed speedily, yet his judgments did not always tarry.

The state of Syria in the Middle Ages cannot, wherever there is any faith in the promises of God, be taken as any adequate measure of the high estate which, as the heritage of Jacob, it is destined to reach. But so greatly has the land of Israel become an infamy among the people, that there is reason to fear that the estimate in the minds of many, if ever formed at all, of the excellence of Israel's everlasting inheritance, would be exceeded, on comparison, by what the cities and the land actually were when they formed the alternate prey and temporary possession of Saracens, Turks, Carmathians, Phatimites, Franks, Assassins, Kurds, and Tartars. Such false impressions, in the mind of any reader, may be dissipated by a glance at the cities of Syria as they existed then. To know something of its *goodliness*, we may look on its aspect before the *pleasant land* finally became *like a desolate wilderness*. And if it retained any long-lingering glory in such troublous times and in the hands of such iniquitous strangers, what may it not become when the covenant with Abraham shall be realized, and the land which the Lord espied for Israel, as the

* Ezek., xxxvi., 11.

glory of all lands, shall in peaceful possession be their own forever?

The geography of El-Edrisi and that of Abulfeda contain brief descriptions of the most important cities, towns, and fortresses of Palestine, as they existed at the middle of the twelfth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the intervening period of a hundred and fifty years, immediately subsequent respectively to the former date and prior to the latter, the travels of Benjamin of Tudela and of Broccard supply corresponding testimony. The writings of travellers of later date are full of undoubted facts, which amply show how slowly Syria sank into that low state of general desolation to which it has now been reduced. It might be said of many places throughout the land, that were they now, as speedily they might be, only what they were not many ages past, then the wilderness would be a fruitful field, and the desert would rejoice and blossom like the rose; and were the cities to be what they were even then, they would speedily rank among the fairest and richest in the world.

Damascus, before its destruction by Tamerlane, was one of the noblest cities in the world. It was designated in the word of God, pointing even to the latter times, *the city of praise, the city of my joy.** As described by Edrisi and Abulfeda, its situation is admirable, its climate healthy and temperate, the soil rich, its waters abundant, the productions varied, the riches immense, the troops numerous, the edifices superb. The villages in its environs were like towns. Than the valley of El Gutha, in which it lay, a fairer was nowhere to be found. It was reckoned the first of the four Tempes, which surpassed in pleasantness all other places on earth, and extended two days' journey in length and one in breadth. In the city stood a temple of unequalled splendour, the marble of which occupied twelve thousand operatives, and the expenditure of which was estimated at four hundred chests (cistæ) of gold, each of which contained fourteen hundred *gold* solidi. Before the west gate of Damascus lay the valley of violets, twelve miles long and four broad, covered, as it were, with the tapestry of richly-variegated fruits, at once beautiful to the eye and delicious to the taste. Continuous gardens extended from Damascus to Zebdeni, distant eighteen miles. In the twelfth century Damas-

* Jer., xlix., 25.

cus ranked only as one of the most noble of the cities of Syria, even when it shone in its utmost magnificence; but, when other cities were brought down from their rivalry, it became the noblest of them all.*

Antioch, long so famous in the history of Syria, and the seat of many kings, was surrounded by walls of surprising solidity, said to be twelve miles in circuit. Its markets were most flourishing, its edifices magnificent, its commerce prosperous, its resources and productions renowned. In the thirteenth century it was excelled only by Damascus, as one of the most delightful cities of Syria, with villas, and villages, and the richest territories.† *Souaidie* was the outer port of its commerce, in the vicinity of which was the fortified and populous town of *Herbadé*.‡

Latikia, or Laodicea, situated on the coast, on the opposite side of the Orontes, was a populous and flourishing city, with resources of every kind, and an elegant and spacious harbour, of admirable construction. A large and beautiful monastery adorned the city. Its vicinity was remarkable for the vast productiveness of its soil and the density of its population.§

Hamath, of which, says Abulfeda, mention is made in the Hebrew Scriptures, was then one of the most pleasant cities of Syria. It strong and lofty citadel was beautifully constructed.‖ Together with *Schaizar*, it was famous for the great number of machines which raised the water from the river into a canal, from whence it flowed through conduits into the houses and gardens. The chief temple was converted into a mosque. *Schaizar* was also fortified by a strong citadel, and abounded in gardens and fruit-trees, especially pomegranates.¶

Hems (Emesa), a strong city, situated in an extremely fertile and populous plain, abounded with merchandise of every kind. Its bazars were plentifully stored, and much frequented from all quarters of the world. Its inhabitants, leading a luxurious life, possessed abundance of all things.** But its extensive vineyards, which Saracens had spared, were repeatedly ravaged by Crusaders, and almost destroy-

* Recueil de la Société de Géograph., Paris, 1836, tom. v., p 349–353. Géog. d'Edrisi. Abulfeda, Tabula Syriæ, p. 100–103. Ibid., Ibn Ol Wardi, p. 171–174.
† Edrisi, ibid., tom. vi., p. 131. Abulfeda, Tab. Syriæ, p. 115, 116.
‡ Edrisi, ibid., tom. vi., p. 131, 132.
§ Abulfeda, p. 112, 113. Edrisi, ibid., tom. vi., p. 131.
‖ Abulfeda, p. 108, 109. ¶ Ibid., Tab. Syr., p. 110.
** Edrisi, ibid., tom. v., p. 357, 358. Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 104.

ed. Till after the middle of the seventeenth century Hems was surrounded by a wall, which was fortified by twenty-six towers. Its chief mosque, once a Christian church, supported by thirty-four marble columns, chiefly variegated, was seventy paces long and eighteen broad. Of the other churches, one, possessed by the Saracens, was "dedicated to our Lady," another, also supported by marble pillars, to the Forty Martyrs. The castle, partly ruined (having, like that of Hamath, withstood hard and long sieges), was, by the command of the Grand Signior, neither to be repaired nor inhabited. The ditch around the city wall was filled with ruins, and, in the progress of desolation, not one half of the rich valley between Hems and Hamath was cultivated.*

Baalbec was a beautiful city, solidly built, intersected by a stream, from which the water passed by conduits into the houses. It was enriched with the choicest luxuries; the soil was very fruitful; the corn extremely cheap. The territory of Baalbec produced all the necessaries, and most of the luxuries of life; and the vines and other fruit-trees yielded a more abundant produce than the inhabitants could consume.†

Aleppo, which had become the capital of Kinnesrin, was a large and populous city down to a recent period. The number of inhabitants at Aleppo has been computed, says Dr. Russel, at three hundred thousand; but it is now conjectured (towards the close of last century), with more probability, that they do not exceed two hundred and thirty-five thousand.‡ It was surrounded by very high walls, constructed of hewn stone, in large, square masses, with towers at intervals of sixty paces. A strong citadel in the midst of the city had a high tower, which was conspicuous at the distance of ten miles. The suburbs were adorned with magnificent buildings as well as the city, the most elegant of which were hippodromes for equestrian sports. The most spacious churches were converted into mosques, of one of which the tower was not excelled in height by any in Syria. To the wonder of many, the walls of the church of St. John, carved with pictures of the saints, remained untouched; but they were shut up from view, as an abom-

* Thèvenot's Travels (A.D. 1655), p. 223, 224.
† Abulfeda, p. 103. Ibn Ol Wardi, p. 187. Edrisi, ibid., tom. v., p. 353, 354.
‡ Russel's Aleppo, p. 97, 98.

ination to the Mohammedans. The city contained many grand khans or caravanseras, which were stored with all varieties of the richest merchandise, and frequented from every quarter.*

Aintab was a beautiful and large city, with a citadel cut out of the live rock, and very strongly fortified, abounding in well-watered gardens, famous for its markets, and much frequented by merchants and travellers.†

Sarmin was the capital of an extensive prefecture, which contained many villages. It rejoiced in the abundance of its olives and other trees, and in a fruitful soil, and was adorned with a forum and large mosque. In its vicinity were forests of pistachio-trees.‡

Maarah was a strongly-fortified city, and, like many others, the see of a bishop. In the thirteenth century it was a populous city, abounding in all sorts of luxuries; and though it had sunk into a small village in the seventeenth century, its khan was so spacious as to lodge with ease eight hundred men and their horses.§

Nearly midway between Antioch and Apamea stood the fortresses of *Asshoghar* and *Bacas*, on the River Orontes, which abounded in fruitful gardens. To these forts a large mosque was attached, and a market-place in its vicinity was crowded weekly by multitudes.‖

Tripoli was a large city, well fortified, and surrounded by pleasant villages and fauxbourgs, the lands around planted with olives, vines, and other fruit-trees, and sugar-canes. It was one of the entrepôts of Syria, full of all manner of merchandise, or articles of commerce. Several forts were dependances of Tripoli, of which four are mentioned by Edrisi. The most renowned of its villages were Chakikie, Zenbourie, Raabie, Harth, and Amioun, which, as well as the rest, possessed abundantly plantations of olives and other fruits. Three forts, at short distances, lay between Tripoli and *Arca*, a populous city, with a lofty citadel and a large faubourg. The river that flowed beside the city watered numerous vineyards and plantations of sugar-cane.¶

Sidon was a large and well-built city. Its markets were furnished with all varieties of merchandise, its gardens copiously irrigated and full of fruits. It had large depend-

* Edrisi, ibid., tom. vi., p. 136. Tab. Syriæ. Ibn Ol Wardi, p. 188–190. Cotovici Itiner., p. 107–109. Russel's Aleppo.
† Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 121, 122.
‡ Ibid., p. 115. Rauwolff's Travels, p. 59.
§ Abulfeda, p. 111, 112. Thévenot.
‖ Ibid., p. 124.
¶ Edrisi, ibid., tom. v., p 356, 357.

ances, which were divided into four districts, which extended to Lebanon; that of Har, renowned for its fertility; of Cherbé, alike delicious; of Kafr-Keilan and of El-Rami, named from a stream that flowed down from the mountains and rushed to the sea. These united districts comprised nearly six hundred villages.* And thus, even in the twelfth century, shrunk as *Sidon the great* then was, and circumscribed its territory, there was still a rich meaning in the words of the covenant, devoting what they never yet have inherited, *all the Sidonians*, and the territory they possessed, to the inheritance of Israel.

Beirout was surrounded by a strong wall. From the iron mines in the adjoining mountain, metal susceptible of excellent temper was extracted, and sold extensively throughout all Syria.

Askelon was a fine city, surrounded by a double wall, abounding in gardens and fruits, and rich in olives, vines, nuts, and pomegranates. All commodities were extremely cheap, and the soil most fruitful.† *Askelon*, *Arsouf*, and *Jaffa*, maritime cities of Palestine, greatly resembled each other in extent, in charms, and the state of their inhabitants—all beautiful cities, well fortified and populous, and surrounded by quantities of vines and olives. *Jaffa*, particularly, was the port of Jerusalem.‡ To the south of Jerusalem were two beautiful districts, viz., *Hamal*, of which the capital was *Darab*, and *Cherat*, of which the capital was *Adrah*. These regions were extremely fertile, producing figs, almonds, and pomegranates in abundance.§ *El-Arish* had two mosques of remarkable construction. Its sandy territory produced dates and various other fruits.‖

The town of *Aaglun* (Ajalon), east of the Jordan, was strongly fortified by its famous castle, built or rebuilt in the fourteenth century. It rejoiced in its streams, and gardens, and fruits, and most fertile soil.¶

As-Salt was a strong town, fortified by a citadel, and watered by a large fountain; it rejoiced in its numerous gardens. From the fame of their excellence, says the Prince of Hamath, its pomegranates were exported to all quarters of the world.**

Bozra, the capital of the Haouran, had a castle of the

* Edrisi, tom. v., p. 354, 355. † Tabula Syriæ. Ibn Ol Wardi, p. 179.
‡ Ibid., p. 348. § Edrisi, ibid., tom. v., p. 340, 341.
‖ Ibid., p. 340. ¶ Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 13. ** Ibid., p. 92.

firmest construction. *Scharchod*, a small town, was fortified by an excellent citadel, and encompassed by numerous vineyards.* A royal highway extended eastward from it to Persia, the distance to Bagdad, according to the then existing itineraries, being ten days' journey. *Fortified with mounds*, it bore the name of *Ar Raszif*.†

Little has been told of the number and magnificence of the cities of Syria, that have yet to arise from their ruins in greater glory than ever. Abulfeda, however briefly, gives in his geography a short separate description of more than a hundred cities, towns, and citadels, as the most distinguished or celebrated in Syria. Though his work is chiefly occupied in marking their positions, the latitude and longitude of upward of sixty of them being given in a table, yet most of them, as well as those above noted, are described as rejoicing in fountains or streams, and in gardens or fruits. Syria even then, in the fourteenth century, had not altogether lost the character which Pliny gave it, as a country abounding exceedingly in gardens. Tiberias and Jericho, together with the intervening region, the valley of the Jordan, and El-Arish on the borders of the desert, could still show that, though comparatively few, there still were palms to vindicate the fame which they gave to Judea in the days of that eminent naturalist: the palm and the balsam, which an Italian climate could not rear, retained their station in Judea: and trees which he noted as peculiar to Judea, and which, transported from thence, were indigenous in Italy, continued, though often degenerating into wildness, in their native clime. Of these he specifies the pistachio nut, various kinds of plants, the juniper, the cedar, and the terebinth tree.‡ The vegetables, or pot-herbs of Syria, which, according to his testimony, were varied and abundant, could still astonish, by their variety, their richness, size, and number, the European traveller in ages far less remote from our own.

Two or three centuries ago, many regions of Syria, unblasted by permanent desolation, though often ravaged by successive desolators, continued long to bear witness, by their vast profusion, to the prodigality of the gifts of Nature; and from Amanus on the north of Syria, and Beerith on the Euphrates, to the borders of Egypt, presented scenes

* Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 99, 105, 106.
† Ibid., p. 106.
‡ Plin., Nat. Hist., lib. xiii., c. 10, 11, 12.

of luxurious loveliness without a parallel in less favoured climes.

In ascending Beilan, the ancient Amanus, the traveller, in the sixteenth century, passed through thick and shady woods, in which planes, larches, firs, beech, oaks, cedars, laurels, and myrtles were intermingled. From the summit of the mountain, covered with cedars, junipers, and andrachnes, a magnificent and extensive view spread forth before him on every side. Looking to the south—as Israel, when her name shall be Beulah, married, and when she shall no longer be termed Forsaken, shall yet look from the top of Amanus—he beheld the widespread Lake of Antioch mirrored at his feet, a most extensive valley, the city of Antioch itself, with the hills, and all the mountains around it; while to the west, the more lowly hills, and narrower, but most fertile valleys, and thick woods, filled up all the intervening space, till the view was bounded by the Mediterranean Sea.*

"At *Aleppo*," says Dr. Rauwolff, "there are abundance of delicate orchards, that are filled with oranges, citrons, lemons, Adam's apples, Sebesten peaches, morellos, and pomegranates, &c. The valley is full of olive-trees, so that several thousand hundred-weight of oil are made yearly. There is also a great quantity of tame and wild almond trees, of figs, of quince and white mulberry trees, very high and large. Pistachio-trees are very common in the fields, bearing nuts, like grapes, in clusters together."† "Garden-plants and kitchen-herbs, without as within the gardens, were in vast variety and abundance, including watermelons, very large and delicious, pumpions, citrals, &c., and many other rich but strange plants, unknown to the European traveller. Barley, wheat, and various kinds of pulse were abundant, their harvest commonly commencing in April or May."‡ "In the great plain near Tripoli," says the same observant traveller, "you see abundance of vineyards, and very fine gardens, enclosed in hedges, chiefly consisting of rhamus, alicorus, oxyacantha, phillyria, lycium, bataustinum, rubus, and little palm-trees, that are but low, and so sprout and spread themselves, and containing all sorts of salads and kitchen-herbs, besides fruits, as watermelons, melons, gourds, citrals, melongena, sesamum, and the cola cassia,

* Itinerarium Cotovici, p. 501.
† Rauwolff's Trav., A.D. 1573, p. 64, 102, &c. ‡ Ibid., p. 65, 67.

which is very common. Without the gardens, also, are many date and mulberry trees, pomegranate and siliqua, olive and almond trees, Adam's apples, &c.; while citrons, lemons, and oranges are in so great plenty, that they are as little regarded as pears or oats in Holland. Between these gardens run several roads and pleasant walks, which afford many shady places in summer; and if, passing through, you have a mind to some of the fruits, you may either gather some that are fallen down, or else pull them from the nearest trees without danger, and take them home with you."* In the adjacent grounds are great quantities of sugar-canes, from which much sugar is made yearly. Sycamore trees, bearing fruit not unlike the fig, grow in all fields and grounds, yielding fruit three or four times yearly, which is found upon the trees all the year long. How abundant these anciently were in the plains of Palestine may be inferred from the illustration which they gave of plenteousness in the days of Solomon, who made cedar-trees like the sycamores that are in the plains for abundance. Producing fruits almost continually, the gathering of them formed a peculiar occupation, associated, as in the case of Amos, with that of a herdsman. Tripoli could also boast of abundance of corn-fields, as of vineyards and of olive groves, that extended quite up to Lebanon.†

Down to a still more recent period, many gardens in Syria were worthy of the ancient fame, justly once bestowed upon them all, and retained a richness and a beauty of which Turkish barbarism, conjoined with Arab spoliation, has since bereaved them. Of this fact a few illustrations may be given. For half a day's journey from Tripoli, the most pleasant and fruitful plains abounded with fruit-trees, olives, and vines; several gardens were full of excellent orange-trees. So, also, were the gardens of Napolous. Tiberias could still boast of the abundance of its palm-trees. Hamath, amid its many gardens, had some full of orange-trees by the river's side. The hills in the neighbourhood of Baalbec were mostly covered with vineyards, which produced celebrated grapes.‡ Of Saide, where a great silk trade was carried on, it was a saying, "So soon as they can get but a little piece of rock, if they can make two fingers' breadth of earth upon it, there they plant a mulberry-

* Rauwolff's Trav., p. 21, 22.
† Ibid., p. 48-51.
‡ Van Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. ii., p. 272.

tree at Saide." To the south of Beyrout, a forest of pines extended to Mount Lebanon, over a space of twelve miles on every side. The orange garden of Faccardine, a prince of the Druses, who had visited Italy, may be an illustration of what Syria might be, with such paradises spread over it, were truth to prevail, and war to cease, and art to be combined with soil and climate to render it *a glorious land*. "It contained," as described by Maundrell at the close of the seventeenth century, "a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in each row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange-trees, of a large, spreading size, and all of so fine a growth, both for stem and head, that one cannot imagine anything more perfect in their kind. They were, at the time when we were there, as it were, gilded with fruit, hanging thicker upon them than ever I saw apples in England. Every one of these sixteen lesser squares in the garden was bordered with stone; and in the stonework were troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the garden, there being little outlets cut at every tree for the stream, as it passed by, to flow out and water it. Were this place under the cultivation of an English gardener, it is impossible anything could be made more delightful. But these hesperides were put to no better use, when we saw them, than to serve as a fold for sheep and goats, insomuch that in many places they were up to the knees in dirt, so little sense have the Turks of such refined delights as these, &c. On the east side of this garden were two terrace walks, rising one above the other, each of them having an ascent to it of twelve steps. They had both several fine, spreading orange-trees upon them, to make shades in proper places, and at the north end they led into booths, and summer houses, and other apartments very delightful."*

While, in the progress of desolation, the proofs that Syria had once been a glorious land, in which the inhabitants *lacked not anything*, were ever diminishing generation after generation, there were still some signs, down to the last century, as there are some in the present, of what it once had been, and how it might be turned into a garden again. But the general description by which it was delineated five or six centuries ago, or even within half that period, when subjugated by the Ottoman Turks, would, except as to its un-

* Maundrell's Travels, p. 59.

changed natural fertility, ill befit it in the present day. In the eleventh century, an eyewitness could thus describe what he saw. "The soil [of the Holy Land] is itself most fruitful in corn, so that it yields a large produce with the slightest labour. It is naturally so rich that it needs no manure. Cotton is cultivated. Sugar-canes also grow, from which sugar of the finest quality is made. I ingenuously confess that apples and pears, and similar fruits, do not grow in the Holy Land, but they are brought from Damascus, though from the heat they cannot be long preserved. But instead of them they have other fruits, which are preserved on the trees throughout the year, for you often at the same time see the same tree bearing both blossom and ripe fruit. From these the inhabitants make various preserves, &c., with which they enrich their food, whether of bread, flesh, fish, or other meats. They have also large citrons, from which they make the finest confections. They have also other excellent and wonderful apples, called the apples of Paradise, which grow in clusters like grapes, so that frequently a hundred apples may be seen on a single bunch (simul conglobata). There are many vines in the Holy Land, and there would be more if the Saracens were not prohibited from the use of wine. Holding the greater part of Palestine in subjection, they root out the vines wherever they find them. The best vines are grown in the valley of Bethlehem, and in Nehel-Eschol, and also near Sidon, Antaradus, and under Mount Lebanon; and, as the inhabitants of Antaradus told me, they collect wine from the same vine three times a year, that is, they have in one year three gatherings of grapes; for when the vine has brought forth the accustomed clusters in March, the wood which is without fruit is cut off, and then, from the stem that is left, new shoots bearing fruit-buds sprout forth, which being cut off, produce new branches in May that bear late grapes. By this art, the ripe grapes in August require three gatherings. The second, that blossomed in April, are gleaned in September, and the third in October. Hence it is that in the Holy Land grapes are sold from the day of John the Baptist to the day of St. Martin (from the 24th of June to the 11th of November). In that land they have also figs, pomegranates, honey, olive oil, cucumbers, melons, citrons, and many other fruits. The corn is also very fine, so that I never ate better bread than in Jerusalem. Deer, hares, partridges, wild boars, quails, &c., abound in

the Holy Land, and camels are most numerous"* (A.D. 1283).

In the fourteenth century Syria had not lost its title to be reckoned, in fact, as a *goodly* land. It was in that age briefly described by Ibn Ol Wardi, in the first words of the geographical extract affixed, in the Leipsic edition (A.D. 1756), to Abulfeda's Syria, as "an extensive region abounding with all good things, having gardens, paradises, woods, meadows, delicious valleys, varieties of fruits, and abundance of cattle. It then contained thirty fortresses."†

The curses of a broken covenant had not then all fallen with their utmost weight upon the land, nor had the time then come when the *fortress* should finally *cease from Ephraim*, and the land be utterly desolate, and the cities desolate without inhabitants, and the houses without man. And reduced as it was from what it had been, yet in population and in produce far more than *a tenth* was left; and the time was not come when they who laid the land desolate should go forth out of it, and the wanderers among the nations for many centuries should find at last a home as Jacob's children in Jacob's heritage. The *second wo* had first to do all its work, and the land of Israel had to be subjected for centuries to Ottoman government and Arab spoliation.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESSIVE DESOLATION OF SYRIA.

BEFORE proceeding to the melancholy review of the ruins which now overspread Syria, even as it was for ages overspread with ancient and flourishing cities, towns, and villages, and unfolding the record which the judgment-stricken land does bear, and thereby showing their number and their names more fully than any scriptural or other historical record has borne, it may be worth a moment's pause to glance at a few illustrations of the last stage of a long course of desolation, and to note the difference between what *was*, when Edrisi, Abul-

* Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio. Brocardo. Orbis Novus, p. 281, 282.
† Tabula Syriæ, p. 169.

feda, and Ibn Ol Wardi wrote, and what *is*, as every modern traveller, in altered terms from theirs, repeats the tale concerning cities that now "rejoice" not, and fortresses that boast no more.

"From Zebdeni there were continuous gardens even to Damascus." "The plain of Zebdeni," which lies between it and Damascus, "is about three quarters of an hour in breadth, and *three hours in length*. It is watered by the Barada, one of whose sources is in the midst of it. We followed it from one end to the other. Its cultivable ground is *waste* till near the village of Beroudj, where I saw plantations of mulberry-trees, which seemed to be well taken care of. Half an hour from Beroudj is the *village* of Zebdeni, and between them the ruined Khan Benduk."* "*Zebdeni to Damascus.*—The valley of Zebdeni appeared quite uncultivated, though the soil is good, and it is watered by the Barada and several other streams."†

"Antioch," five centuries ago, "surrounded by huge walls, was a great city, next to Damascus the most delightful city in Syria." "The present town, which is a *miserable one*, does not occupy more than one eighth part of the space included in the old walls, which have a fine, venerable appearance."‡

"*Majaf* (which lies more than midway between Emesa and the sea) is a famous city, with meandering streams, flowing from fountains, from which the gardens are irrigated."§ "The town of Maszyad (or, as it is written in the books of the Miri, Meszyadf), surrounded by a modern wall, is upward of half an hour (two miles) in circumference, but the houses are in ruins, and there is not a single well-built dwelling in the town, although stone is the only material used. It is (A.D. 1810) inhabited by 280 families. The castle, built upon a high and almost perpendicular rock, commands the *wild moor* in every direction, presenting a gloomy romantic landscape."‖

Baalbec was "a beautiful city, solidly built, and rich in the choicest luxuries," &c. "The walls of the ancient city may still be traced, and include a larger space than the present town ever occupied, even in its most flour-

* Burckhardt's Syria, p. 3. † Travels in Syria, by G. Robinson, Esq., 1830.
‡ Irby and Mangles, p. 229. § Abul., Tab. Syriæ, p. 20.
‖ Burckhardt's Travels, p. 150.

ishing state." The ruined town of Baalbec contained, when visited by Burckhardt, about seventy Metaweli families, and twenty-five of catholic Christians. The earth is extremely fertile. "Even so late as twelve years ago," as he relates, "the plain, and a part of the mountain, to the distance of a league and a half round the town, were covered with grape plantations; the oppressions of the governors and their satellites have now entirely destroyed them; and the inhabitants of Baalbec, instead of eating their own grapes, which were renowned for their superior flavour, are obliged to import them from Fursul and Zahle."* The progress of desolation did not then cease over the ruins of the city of Baal. In 1830, or twenty years thereafter, Mr. Robinson thus writes: On entering Baalbec, "a sad scene of ruin and desolation presented itself on every side, a solitary house or two on each street alone remaining, and even these tenantless, or only temporarily occupied by Arab shepherds and their flocks."†

Kuat, *Saramain*, and *Maarat Mesrin*, situated a day's journey south of Aleppo, were three cities worthy to be ranked among the celebrated towns of Syria. Their territory, which lay in the vicinity of that of the ancient Colchis, could still boast, in the fourteenth century, a multitude of olives, figs, and a variety of other trees. Sarmin, situated in a fruitful soil, embraced in its prefecture many villages.‡ "We went," says Pococke, "to see several fine ruins of ancient towns and villages, south of Sarmin. In Rany, Magnesia, and Ashy, we saw ruins of villages built of hewn stones." *Kuph* (the only name he mentions which at all resembles Kuat) is a ruined village of such extent, that it looked like the remains of a large town. *Marrah*, from being a populous city, was then reduced to a poor little town, and is now a "poor little village." Remarkable as it is for the great number of ancient cisterns and wells hewn in the rock which it still exhibits, *Sarmin*, no longer the chief city of a rich district, has now sunk into a "village;" and where the olive, the fig, and other trees adorned the city and the surrounding region, "a few clumps of olives," in a "country otherwise destitute of

* Burckhardt's Travels. p. 10, 13, 15. † Robinson's Travels, p. 93.
‡ Abulfeda, p. 21, 23, 111, 115.

wood and naked,"* have themselves become like the two or three berries on the top of the uttermost bough, or the four or five in the outmost fruitful branches that are left when the olive has been shaken.

The ancient city of *Bosra* had a citadel of the strongest structure, like that of Damascus.† To the west of it lay the strong castle of *Aaglun*, then recently built, and to the east, *Scharchod* was also fortified by a strong citadel. The castle of *Adjeloon*, like the rest, was worthy of its high fame. Built upon a rock, and surmounted by a moat cut out of the rock, faced with masonry when needful, "it must," says Buckingham, "have been originally considered one of the strongest positions in the country," though in the hands of its present possessors "the castle may be almost said to be in ruins, though many parts of it are still habitable,"‡ &c. The castle of *Salghud* occupied a fine elevation, is founded on a rock, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch hewn out of the rock, the area on which it stands being eight hundred paces in circuit. The castle is abandoned, and the city or town is now entirely in ruins, and *without a single inhabitant* § "The large castle of *Bosra* is one of the best built citadels of Syria, and is surrounded by a deep ditch. Its walls are very thick, and in the interior are alleys, dark vaults, subterraneous passages, &c., of the most solid construction."‖ "In centre of the castle is a fine theatre, apparently of great extent and beauty, in its original state, though now confounded with other ruins," &c. "There were seven or eight ranges of benches, gradually rising and receding as they rose, in the manner of all the theatres of antiquity. The upper range was terminated by a fine Doric colonnade running all round the semicircle, the pillars being about three feet in diameter, supporting a plain entablature. The circle of the upper range of seats was two hundred and thirty paces." The entrances for the visiters of this theatre seemed to be "through arched passages, corresponding with the ancient vomitories, and about thirty in number."¶ When Syria was invaded by the Saracens, Bozra was a strongly-fortified city, and "twelve thousand horse

* Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 240. † Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 99.
‡ Buckingham's Trav. among the Arab Tribes, p. 151. § Ibid., p. 216.
‖ Burckhardt's Syria, p. 233. ¶ Buckingham's Travels, p. 204, 205.

issued from its gates;" and five centuries afterward an army of Crusaders turned back from its walls, and did not venture to besiege it. But the contrast is striking. The town is all but utterly deserted; and when visited by Burckhardt, "the castle was garrisoned by six Moggrebbyns only."*

Ch shan was the metropolis of the fertile country of *Al Balkaa* when Abulfeda wrote, and Rabba Moab had perished and was turned into a village, and the large area on which the ancient city of Ammon was built was heaped with ruins. Heshbon was then surrounded with trees, and gardens, and fields.† But now at Heshbon are the ruins of a large ancient town; a few broken shafts of columns are still standing, a number of deep wells cut in the rock, and a large reservoir of water,‡ &c.

Askelon was a fine city, surrounded by a double wall, abounding in gardens and fruits, and was one of the most celebrated towns of the seacoast. The inhabitants drank out of fountains of sweet water. It was rich in olives, vines, nuts, and pomegranates. Everything was extremely cheap, and the soil very rich§ "The position of Askelon is strong; the walls are built on the top of a ridge of rock, that winds round the town in a semicircular direction, and terminates at each end in the sea. The foundations remain all the way round, the walls are of great thickness, and in some places of considerable height, and flanked with towers at different distances. Patches of the wall preserve their original elevation, but in general it is ruined throughout, and the materials lie scattered around the foundation, or rolled down the hill on either side. In the highest part of the town we found the remains of a Christian convent, close upon the sea, with a well of excellent water beside it. Askelon was one of the proudest satrapies of the lords of the Philistines; now there is not an inhabitant within its walls; and the prophecy of Zechariah is fulfilled, 'Askelon shall not be inhabit-
of about two miles in circuit, and, as the Pacha of Egpyt
ed.' "‖ "The city occupies, within the walls, a space has caused the sand to be cleared, with the intention of

* Burckhardt's Syria, p. 233.
† Abulfeda, p. 11, 90, 91.
‡ Burckhardt's Syria, p. 365.
§ Tab. Syr., p. 179.
‖ Richardson's Travels, vol. ii., p. 202-204.

building a new town and harbour from the ancient materials, many interesting remains have been exposed to view. Near the centre of the field of ruins there has stood a temple of large dimensions, the pillars of which, though fallen, are still entire, each shaft being of one piece of gray granite. The pillars and entablature are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, and in the purest taste. Near this, a very beautiful colossal female figure, of white marble, forms part of the substructure of a building, and might be easily removed from its present situation. Friezes and entablatures, and fragments of marble statues, lie scattered about in every direction. One of the most interesting ruins is that of an early Christian church, probably of the fourth or fifth century; the walls, pavement, and bases of the columns showing the exact plan of the building, which corresponds with that of other early churches in the Holy Land. The pavement, and the capitals and bases of the columns, are of polished white marble. The capitals are corrupt in taste, but beautifully carved, as is frequently seen in similar instances, when the arts had begun to decline. They bear an eight-pointed cross, encircled with a wreath of laurel. Askelon was a bishopric in the early ages of Christianity. Sandys describes it as 'a place of no note, except that the Turke doth here keep a garrison.' It is now a place of still less note, except that the deserted ruins, and the poor village of shepherds beside the walls, remain as an evidence of the fulfilment of prophecy."*

Askelon has indeed drunk of the wine-cup of the fury of the Lord. Though its ruins, like many in Syria, give proof that it has been rebuilt again and again, at last *it has been cut off with the remnant of the valley.* Annexed to these words is the question concerning it, "How long wilt thou cut thyself, O thou sword of the Lord; how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard; rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the seashore? there hath He appointed it."†

These words of the Eternal may well denote the lapse of many ages. The sword of the Lord is not yet put

* Kinneir's Cairo, &c., p. 212, 213. † Jer., xlvii., 5–7.

up in its scabbard and still, along the seashore of Philistia, a land now no less troubled than ever; but the charge which the Lord gave against Askelon has been fully executed. And though, when the first king of Israel and his lovely son were slain, the sad tidings, as the lamentation of David bears, were not to be told in Gaza, nor published in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines should rejoice, and the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph, yet it may now be told in the streets of any city, and published throughout the world, that, according to the word of the living God, not only hath the Lord cut off the sceptre from Askelon, but that city itself, in far later ages fenced with double walls, has *become a desolation, without an inhabitant.* The seacoast also, as every succeeding traveller now bears witness, and as the writer can personally testify, has *become dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks.* It is not for the daughters of the uncircumcised to triumph at the tidings, but for all to stand in awe at judgments perfected at last—to stand in awe and sin not.

It is not as the theme of such prophecies alone that we would here linger at Askelon. The interrogatory, *how long?* may demand a pause. The facts that that city—situated on the border of the Mediterranean Sea, and partly buried under sand, and far more desolate and broken than many other cities of Syria, so as to have become, in worldly estimation, a place of *no note* —was but recently about to be rebuilt, and that the purpose was only seemingly frustrated by the outbreak of a new war, and the expulsion of the intending restorer; that the preparatory work was done, and the sand cleared away, with the intention of building a new town and harbour from the ancient materials, and that many interesting remains were thereby disclosed to view, might not only excite some interest in a place previously reckoned of no note, but may suffice to show how the city is accounted worthy of being rebuilt, and how the ancient materials are well adapted for its reconstruction. It cannot be held unwarrantable to expect such disclosures in other ruins; and even where these need not to be made, but heaps of hewn stones lie ready for the builder, the attempt to raise up fallen Askelon

may serve to show how practicable it is to renew the cities that need only to be repaired, or to raise up from their ruins the cities with which Syria was overspread.

But, not resting on conjecture, or regarding mere political expediency, we chiefly look on Askelon, desolate and uninhabited, as showing how it has reached the full measure of the Divine judgments pronounced against it; and we look on the attempt to raise it up, however premature or untimely it yet may have been, as a prognostic of a happier destiny that yet awaits it, as assuredly as it has thus been brought low. For who can tell that the necessarily *preparatory* work, which it lay to the pacha's hand to do, for the final rebuilding of that city as it *shall* be rebuilt, may not have thus been accomplished? The "field of ruins" may now be the more easily cultivated, and flourish "a fine city" again. Whatever may be problematical, this is not; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it: *In the houses of Askelon shall they* (the Jews) *lie down in the evening:* for the Lord their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity.*

That which is thus said of it is said also of all the cities of the land. How numerous they were in ancient times we have already seen; and still more ample testimony the land itself does at last disclose. That they have in general reached, like Askelon, the last degree of predicted desolation, and that, like it, they supply ample materials for rising again, phœnix-like, from their ruins, even a cursory view may render luminously clear. In their multitude and in their magnitude, fallen and shrunk as many of them are, a palpable demonstration is supplied of the goodliness of the land which sustained and enriched them all. And while scriptural history is thus corroborated, and scriptural prophecy thus ocularly set forth as perfect verity, the reader is entreated to bear next with the dry continuous detail of ruin after ruin, in the faith and assured hope, even as the covenant of God is true, that as the light of Scripture prophecy rests refulgent on them all, it shall yet be reflected in brighter glory than ever from the cities of Israel again, when *Jacob shall have become the restorer of cities to dwell in*, and when the face of the whole land shall be *filled with cities*.

* Zeph., ii., 7.

Notwithstanding the interesting remains recently disclosed to view, so soon as the attempt was made to raise Askelon from its grave, it is not from its ruins as they lie that its ancient beauty and strength are to be seen, any more than its once beauteous and fruitful environs can be recognised in the desolation around it. The circuit of ruined walls, if alone regarded, would in this, as in other instances, be a faithful index to the population of the walled towns of Syria, if at all compared with the extent of modern cities of Western Europe, with their courts and squares spread over plains. They have rather their existing pattern in the city of Genoa, with streets narrow as the lanes of other towns. The streets of Damascus, the first city in Syria, are only wide enough for the passage of a loaded camel. And the walls of Aleppo, long, as now, the second of its cities, are only three miles or three miles and a half in circuit, though its population (including the suburbs) in the beginning of last century was "generally computed at 300,000,"* now reduced, in common token of progressive desolation, to a fifth part of the number.

CHAPTER VII.

RUINS IN MOAB AND AMMON.

In commencing a survey of the ruins that now overspread the land which was given by covenant to the seed of Abraham for an everlasting possession, it may not be amiss to follow, as previously, the route of the Israelites when they originally entered their inheritance. So soon as they reached it, they saw how goodly was their heritage; and the cavils of those who have traduced it, and denied its populousness in ancient times, may be confronted at once with the ruins of hundreds of cities or towns, as no equivocal proofs that they actually existed.

The seed of Jacob shall finally possess Mount Seir and the remnant of Edom, which at first refused to give Israel a passage through their border. But when the whole earth rejoiceth, Edom shall be desolate. It is

* Van Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. ii., p. 338.

written that, unlike the rest, its cities *shall not return.** The scene of momentous judgments yet to come, to witness which all nations are invoked, and the subject of a peculiar doom, Mount Seir could not but questionably come within our province, while looking to the future as well as to the past, and noting the ruins of cities that *shall* be built again.

But *in the latter days*, the captivity of Moab and of Ammon shall be brought back.† These regions manifestly lie within the borders of the promised heritage of Jacob; and a brief inspection of their ruined cities, which have *all*, as such, testified to the express reality of the "burden" which they were doomed by the Lord to bear because of their transgressions, may prepare the way of entering on the more extensive survey of those ruined and deserted cities, built by aliens, that occupy the length and the breadth of the covenanted inheritance of Jacob.

From the borders of Edom to the River Zerka, anciently the Jabbok, including Ammon and Moab, and a small part of the original inheritance of Israel that pertained not to either, an ample field of ruins, on which we would first enter, is presented to our view, where the Word of God, in respect to the desolation of the cities, has done its perfect work.

In passing through the land of Moab towards its southern extremity, and to the south of Kerek or *Carac-Moab*, after recording the names of various ruined sites which they saw from different points—five from one, and six from another—Captains Irby and Mangles give their testimony, from ocular observation, that "the whole of the fine plains in this quarter are covered with the sites of towns on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one; and as the land is capable of rich cultivation, there can be little doubt that the country, now so deserted, presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility."‡ In like manner, in journeying to the north of Kerek, before reaching the ancient capital of Moab, they remark, "The several cities which we passed proved that the population of this country was formerly proportioned to its natural fertility."§

* Ezek., xxxv., 9, 14.
† Jer., xlviii., 47; xlix., 6.
‡ Travels, p. 370, 371.
§ Ibid., p. 456.

But instead of startling the reader, if a stranger to the ruins of Syria, by a general and seemingly transient remark, he may be introduced to a knowledge of them by following Burckhardt from the banks of the Zerka to the borders of Edom, marking the slow mode of Eastern travelling, where three miles form the measure of "an hour," the usual and sole mode of computation now, where Roman milestones once stood.* In the ground on which he thus treads, looking at ruins alone, he will not fail to recognise the names of some of those cities of Ammon and Moab on which the word of the Lord lighted, and on which it has fallen no less heavily than on Askelon. Places of no note they too may now be accounted; but therefore is the word of the Lord verified, that *judgment has come upon all the cities of Ammon and Moab far and near.*

The Zerka now divides the district of Moerad from the country called El-Belka. On the summit of a mountain, at the northern foot of which it flows, large heaps of hewn stones, and several ruined walls, bear the name of *El-Meysera.*† In one hour fifteen minutes is the ruined place called El-Herath, about one hour to the south-east of which are the ruined places *Allan* and *Syphan.* At two hours is reached the foot of the mountain called *Djebel Djelaad* and *Djelaoud* (Gilead), upon which are the ruined towns of the same names.‡ The lofty mountain Osha lies between *Djelaad* and *Szalt*, which is distant four hours thirty minutes from Meysera. Szalt is (was) the only inhabited place in the province of Belka. In descending the valley to the south of Szalt, the ruins of a considerable town are met with, consisting of foundations of buildings and heaps of stones, the remains, seemingly, of the town (As Szalt) described by Abulfeda, through which the water flowed which issued from a great fountain at the foot of the hill. In the southwest direction from Szalt, distant about two hours and a half, are *four ruined places.*§ East of Szalt about one hour are the ruins called *El-Deir.*

From *Feheis*, a ruined town at a short distance from Szalt, Burckhardt diverged to the ruins of Ammon, and returned to the same place by a different route, passing

* Mr. Buckingham computes an hour as four miles.
† Burckhardt's Travels, p. 347. ‡ Ibid., p. 348. § Abulfeda, Tab. Syr., p. 93.

ruins wherever he went.* "The extensive plain of El-Ahma, north of Ammon, is interspersed with low hills, which are for the greater part crowned with ruins. These ruins, as well as those in the Mountains of Belka, consist of a few walls of dwelling-houses, heaps of stones, the foundations of some public edifices, and a few cisterns now filled up; there is nothing entire, but it appears that the mode of building was very solid, all the remains being formed of large stones. It is evident, also, that the whole of the country must have been extremely well cultivated, in order to have afforded subsistence to the inhabitants of so many towns."†

Pursuing his journey southward from Feheis, we may follow Burckhardt for a single day, noting only how regularly ruins are bestrewed around the path, though not so numerous as in the vicinity of Ammon. "We passed *Ardh-el-Hemar*, in the neighbourhood of which are the ruined places *El-Rykha*, *Shakour*, *Meghanny*, and *Megabbely*. In 1 h. 45′ we came to *Kherbet Tabouk*. At 2 h. 15′ is a ruined birket, a reservoir of rain water, called *Om Aarnoud*, from some fragments of columns which are found here. In 2 h. 30′ we passed on our right the Wady Szyr, which has its source near the road. Above its source are the ruins of *Szyr*. At 3 h. were the ruins of *Szar*. At 3 h. 30′, and about half an hour west of the road, are the ruins of *Tokhara*, on the side of the Wady Eshta, which empties itself into the Jordan. To the left of the road is the great plain, with many insulated hillocks. At 3 h. 45′ to the right are the ruins of *Meraszas*, with a heap of stones called *Redjem-abd-Reshyd*. To the left are the ruins called *Merdj Ekke*. At 4 h. 30′, and about three quarters of an hour to our right, we saw the ruins of *Naour*, on the side of a rivulet of that name. On both sides of the road are many vestiges of ancient field enclosures. At 5 h. 45′ are the ruins of *El-Aal*, probably the Eleale of Scripture. El-Aal was surrounded by a well-built wall, of which some parts yet remain. Among the ruins are a number of large cisterns, fragments of walls, and foundations of houses, but nothing worth particular notice. At 6 h. 15′ is *Hesban*. Here are the remains of a large ancient town, &c. About three quarters of an

* Burckhardt, p. 355. † Ibid., p. 357.

hour southeast of Hesban are the ruins of *Myoun*, the ancient Baal Meon. Proceeding in a more easterly direction, at 6 h. 45', about an hour distant from the road, I saw the ruins of *Djelouh*, at a short distance to the east of which are the ruined places called *El-Samek*, *El-Mesouch*, and *Om-el-Aamed*, situated close together upon low elevations. At 7 h. 15' is *El-Refeyrat*, a ruined town of some extent. In seven hours and a half we came to the remains of a well-paved ancient causeway, apparently a Roman work. At the end of *eight hours* we reached *Madeba*, the ancient Madeba, built upon a round hill, and at least half an hour (or two miles) in circumference. There are many remains of the walls of private houses, constructed with blocks of silex, but not a single edifice is standing. There is a large birket, which, as there is no spring at Madeba, might still be of use to the Bedouins, were the surrounding ground cleared of the rubbish, to allow the water to flow into it; but such an undertaking is far beyond the views of the wandering Arab. On the west side of the town are the foundations of a temple, built of large stones, and apparently of great antiquity. It consisted of two equal divisions, of *each* of which, with an opening between, the walls were forty paces on one side by thirty-four on the other, or the whole length about eighty paces, and the breadth forty. About half an hour west of Madeba are the ruins of *El-Teym*, perhaps the Kerjathaim of Scripture; a very large reservoir is cut entirely in the rock, and is still filled in the winter with rain water."*

Such in this respect is an illustration of travelling now in the lands of Moab and of Ammon, as generally throughout Syria, not from town to town, but from ruin to ruin. In continuing his journey, ere Moab was left behind, Burckhardt passed other *twenty ruined sites*, besides villages; and exclusive of these, he enumerates other *seventeen* in the district of Kerek, which are not all, but "the principal," of a great number of ruined places in the district of Kerek in the land of Moab.

At *El-Kerr*, in the southern extremity of Moab, perhaps the ancient Kara, a bishopric belonging to the diocess of Rabba Moabitis, are the ruins of a city of considerable extent, of which nothing remains but heaps of

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 363–367.

stones. The fertile plain on which they lie contains the ruins of several villages.

At a short distance from Rabba are the ruins of an ancient city, *Beit Kerm*. Their principal features, say Captains Irby and Mangles, are a great building, evidently Roman, resembling that which seemed to be a palace at Petra, and which they supposed to be the temple of Atargatis at Carnaim (Maccabees, v., 42). Eight columns of the portico which adorned its front lie on the ground. There are fragments of others within the temple, the walls of which are fallen; the stones used in their construction are about five feet long and two broad. The number of reservoirs or tanks prove that it once was populous. Passing southward from thence, at the termination of an ancient causeway, lie the ruins of *Rabba*, about half an hour in circuit. Two ruined temples, of one of which a single wall, with several niches, remains, showing that the God of Israel alone was not worshipped there—an insulated altar, and two columns still erect, are now the chief distinguishable objects on the site of that city which was *exceeding proud*. Many fragments lying about, many remains of private habitations, but none entire, constitute the truly *desolate heaps* which the Lord has made of the metropolis of Moab. The walls of the ancient edifices, that were built like those of Beit Kerm, may, with other ruins, supply ready materials for the reconstruction of the city; and the two birkets or reservoirs, the largest of which is entirely cut out of the rock, together with several cisterns, may be turned to usefulness again when the ruins of the capital of Moab shall be transformed by another prediction into a city of Israel.*

Mr. Buckingham passed from As Szalt through the land of Ammon by a more easterly direction than that of Burckhardt, and travelling from thence to *Oom-el-Rusas*, and returning from it by another way, had thus doubly the means of witnessing how ruins are everywhere spread over the land. In whatever direction it is traversed, at the distance of six, four, or even two miles, one ruined town is passed after another, with ruined villages interspersed. From one who had travelled much in these regions, he was furnished at Assalt with the

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria.

names of several places which lay by two routes between these localities, the existence of all of which, though their names be given, would, from their vast number—a hundred and twenty-one—exceed credibility, were not their amazing frequency attested by every witness. Yet on recounting these, as he recorded their names, his informant, wearied with the tedious detail, exclaimed, with the oath of a Mussulman, "There are three hundred and sixty-six ruined towns and villages about Assalt, and I know the names of all; but who could have patience to sit down and recite them to another while he writes them in a book." His patience was exhausted, and he would not resume his task. There were many places of inferior note, which he thought too inconsiderable to name. For greater accuracy, the list was read over to him a second time after it was written, and confirmed by his assent to the positions assigned.*

Startling as the number of the recorded names may seem, its accuracy is strongly corroborated by the Arabic list of ruined places in El-Belka, given by Mr. Eli Smith, and obtained by him from the inhabitants of Dibbin. Though it includes only the places between the Zurka (Zerka) and the Mogib, or Arnon, and thus does not comprehend many of the towns of Moab, the number of names of places contained in it is one hundred and twenty-four.†

It may seem to convey a more definite idea of the ruins to follow Mr. Buckingham a day's journey in the land of Ammon, as Burckhardt formerly through part of that of Moab. In journeying from Assalt to Amman, a distance of six hours, he first reached *Anab*, which, though without an existing dwelling except grottoes cut out of the rock, still retains its ancient name, and, together with it, sloping moles of masonry and vestiges of ancient work. An hour from hence he arrived at *Fahaez* (Feheis), a ruined town, in which he observed the number of at least a hundred dwellings, all built of stone, in the construction of which the Roman arch is very prevalent. An hour thereafter, four ruined villages intervening, *Deer-el-Nassara*, or the convent of the Christians, is reached, a ruined town of greater extent than Fahaez. The large size of the stones, and the deep hue of age spread over

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 44–46.
† Robinson and Smith's Biblical Researches, vol. iii., Appendix, p. 167.

every part, denote a high antiquity. No one edifice remains perfect; and in some the dilapidation is so complete, that soil has collected over and above the fallen heap of stones, in which large trees have taken root, and nearly the whole of the site is now covered with wood. Yet, fallen and almost covered though it be, it abounds with materials for reconstruction. The stones which form the fallen heaps were "smoothly hewn, the masonry of the best kind, the work having all the usual appearance of being Roman in its construction."*

Proceeding from thence for a mile through a thick forest of large trees, on clearing it he came on a fine plain covered with rich green turf, and passed by, without halting to examine it, a ruined town, Daboak, all that he could learn concerning which was, that it had long since been abandoned, and in ruins. Preserving the same unvaried phraseology, as similar sights came successively in view, "In our way," he says, "we passed another ruined town, called *Oom-el-Simack*, where there were foundations of a circular wall still visible; and *around us, in every direction, were remains of more than fifty towns and villages*, which were once maintained by the productive soil on which they were so thickly studded. As their names were mentioned to me, I recognised many of those contained in the list drawn up by me at Assalt.†

"For the space of two miles before reaching Ammon, pieces of broken pottery strewed over the ground indicate the approach to the ruins of a great city. The remains of a large isolated building of excellent masonry, with sculptured blocks scattered near it on the ground, first meet the view of the traveller, once, as is supposed, an outer gate of the city, or a triumphal entrance. The castle of Amman, a large enclosed ruin, occupying entirely the summit of a small steep hill, has the appearance of a fortress. On the other side the wall ascends like a sloping mole, the masonry of which is excellent, the stones being squarely hewn and nicely adjusted, &c. The steep ascent of this ruined mass is passed over large heaps of fallen stones till the eastern gateway is reached, which leads to an open square court, with arched recesses on each side, originally open, which had arched doorways facing each other. These were all either wholly closed or

* Buckingham's Travels, ibid.
† Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 60-66.

partially filled up, with the single exception of a narrow passage just sufficient for the entrance of one man, and of the goats which the Arab keepers drive in here occasionally for shelter during the night."* The castle of Amman having stood siege after siege, is turned at last to its low predicted use—a *couching place for flocks*.† The empty niches in the walls, adorned as they are by well-sculptured bunches of grapes and vine-leaves, and other carvings of an arabesque pattern, have none to bow before them now, and none to gaze on them but the senseless herds, who themselves are the unconscious witnesses to the truth of the Word of the living God.

But, looking to that word which abideth forever, and to a covenant yet to be ratified, which holds within its bonds Ammon and all its land, we regard not exclusively the prostration of a stronghold in fulfilment of a prophecy, nor the remnants of a glory that has long departed, but it is rather our proper business here to look around for materials that are fitted for reconstruction, in the time yet to come, when the children of Israel shall dwell safely, though in the land of their ancient enemies, in their own cities, that shall not stand in any need of castles to defend them, nor of walls or gates to shut out a single foe. These lie plentifully around, enough wherewith to build many mansions.

"The castle walls," says Burckhardt, "are thick, and denote a remote antiquity; large blocks of stone are piled up without cement, and still hold together as well as if they had been recently placed. The greater part of the wall is entire." Heaps of various ruins are enclosed within them, among which are seen Corinthian pediments, cornices, capitals, pilasters, &c. Among other ill-defined remains are the ruins of a magnificent edifice, whose broken fragments bear evident marks of its former grandeur. The pedestals of the colonnade which adorn its front retain their original position, with many fine Corinthian capitals scattered around them. Large blocks, that formed magnificent columns, are partly buried in the earth, on one of which letters are distinctly seen, the characters being deeply cut, and not at all worn by exposure to the atmosphere or any other cause. Among the ruins in the city, a grand theatre, with more than forty ranges of seats, rising to an elevation of upward of 120 feet, the upper range embracing a circuit of 200 paces, is an unusually perfect monument of Roman luxury; "for," says

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 68. † Ezek., xxv., 5.

Mr. Buckingham, "a very slight repair would make it available for its original purpose." In the broad pathway that encircles the whole at the top is a deep square recess, entered by a fine Corinthian doorway, with an architrave and pediment, having concave niches on each side, as if for the reception of statues. A "very slight repair" may convert it to a nobler use; and when it shall be trodden, not by those who are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, but by those who shall know that the God of Israel is the Lord, the niches for statues shall not be filled again, but the idols shall be utterly abolished. Till then it may remain, as in ages past, *a stable for camels, and a couching place for flocks.*

In the succeeding summary of Burckhardt, it may be seen how temples are not free from the signs of past idolatry.* "The edifices which remain to show the former splendour of Ammon are the following: a spacious church, built with large stones, and having a steeple of the shape of those which I saw in several ruined towns of the Haouran. There are wide arches in the walls of the church. 2. A small building with *niches*, probably a temple. 3. A temple, of which a part of the side walls and a niche in the back wall are remaining; there are no ornaments either on the walls or about the niche. 4. A curved wall along the water-side, with many niches," &c. These, together with the theatre, are among the chief edifices that yet remain amid the *desolate heap* which Ammon has become, according to the word of the only living and true God. They are not without their significancy; and such illustrations, often repeated, as the reader may perceive in the sequel, may aid in solving the problem as to the causes of the desolations which came over Syria many ages after the Jews were expatriated and the *Ammonites cut off.*

Amid the ruins of Ammon is a large edifice, presenting a semicircular front towards the stream, built of rustic masonry, with large, solid stones of an oblong form, closely joined without cement.† A large and more perfect building, with Roman arches and a square tower; the remains of a colonnade, and the front of some large edifice; a grand building, once apparently of an octagonal form, has still four of its sides perfect; a colonnade of large Corinthian columns was once ranged within it. Heaps of ruins lie in bewildering confusion around it, and near to it are large houses divided into many apart-

* Burckhardt, 358. † Buckingham, p. 78.

ments, but all are alike deserted, though little labour would restore some of these buildings to useful dwellings,* &c.

Leaving Ammon by a great road or causeway similar to that by which it was approached, the traveller, without diverging to visit other ruins, passes by it to *Gherbit-el-Sookh*, ten miles distant, near to which are very extensive ruins yet unexamined, many Roman arches remaining perfect, several large columns still erect, pointing at a distance to the ruins of a town which must have been an important station. The public road which led from it to Ammon had many smaller settlements around it in the midst of a fine fertile plain.

Continuing the route S.S.E., the remains of the large town *Yedoody* are passed, where many tombs and sarcophagi are excavated from the rock, near a quarry that has rested for ages. In another hour, in a continued fertile tract, capable of the highest cultivation, are the remains of a still larger city, *Mehanafish*, with arches, columns, and sarcophagi, all Roman work, though none of the buildings remain quite perfect. Passing it, and ascending an elevation, still more extensive plains open to view, throughout the whole extent of which, says Mr. Buckingham, were seen ruined towns† in every direction, both before, behind, and on each side of us, generally seated on small eminences, all at a short distance from each other, and all, as far as we had yet seen, bearing marks of former opulence and consideration.

Journeying onward, he passed successively various ruined towns at similar or shorter distances. The ruins of *Bunazein*, inhabited by several Arab families.‡ *Menjab*, the site of some large town, among whose ruins are arches, columns, large cisterns or reservoirs, and deep wells, with an abundance of broken pottery scattered about in all directions.§ At *Jelool* are still more extensive ruins, consisting of columns, heaps of large hewn stones, the remains of fallen edifices, numerous cisterns, grottoes, tombs, and sarcophagi, all now entirely *deserted*, and exhibiting a melancholy example of the works of former opulence and power.‖

At *Oom-el-Rusas*, the remains of ruined buildings, and foundations with broken pottery, and other vestiges of former habitations, extend more than half a mile beyond two walled enclosures, filled with ruined buildings, of which the one is 200 yards square, and the other occupies a space of

* Lord Claud Hamilton's MS. Journal. † Buckingham, p. 83.
‡ Ibid., p. 86. § Ibid., p. 88. ‖ Ibid., p. 96.

nearly half a mile, the wall quite perfect all around. The streets throughout, at right angles from each other, were very narrow, indicating an extremely crowded population. Though the buildings seemed small and unimportant, and unadorned with architectural ornament, the masonry was unusually solid, and the stones with which they were constructed very large.*

In penetrating from Assalt more directly into the interior of the country, towards Gerash ruins were discovered in like proximity and abundance. "Seven ruined villages, a hewn cistern, a reservoir for water, and other marks of former populousness, were seen in the early part of this route. In half an hour from the commencement of our journey we came to Zey, a ruined town, in which were seen five pillars, many private dwellings, originally constructed with large stones, but now completely demolished, and grown over with trees, with a very perfect sarcophagus. An hour's ride from Zey brought us to Ullan, a Christian town, very recently deserted, as it was the town in which Aivobi, the merchant of Assalt, was born and brought up to manhood; it is now, however, entirely in ruins. Near it are hewn quarries out of which it had been built. The abundance of fine broken pottery shows that it was an ancient site. In half an hour from Ullan is the sister town of Sihhan, larger than the former. After passing ruined villages, Mr. Buckingham reached the Zerka, "on the hill to the east of which were pointed out to him more than fifty ruined villages."

At the commencement of the present century, these countries east of the Dead Sea and of the Jordan were utterly unknown to Europe. The enterprising Seetzen, who first penetrated them, contrasts what Ammon was with what it is: "All this country, formerly so populous and flourishing, is now changed into a vast desert." The language of Burckhardt, who was the next to follow him, is not less expressive of both the depopulation and desolation: "At every step are to be found the vestiges of ancient cities, the remains of many temples, public edifices, and Greek churches." He, Mr. Buckingham, and Captains Irby and Mangles, speak of the same. and also of different regions, which they all visited, in similar and almost in the same precise terms, in describing how the land is overspread with ruins. The very recent testimony collected by Mr. E. Smith corroborates by

* Buckingham, p. 100.

new and redoubled proof the same truth, which, long forgotten and unknown among Christians, or denied and derided by infidels, must now be held unquestionable. The whole of this region, says Mr. Buckingham, was in a manner studded with the ruins of ancient towns, and must have been once highly fertile and thickly peopled. This interesting region appears, both from ancient testimony and the existence of innumerable ruins, up to the present time, to have been one of the most fertile and thickly-peopled countries on the face of the earth, though it still remains a blank in our maps, and is considered by all who treat of these countries a desert or a wilderness.

In closing our summary review of these ruins, over which the destroying angel has passed, and whose commission, according to the written word, has at last been fulfilled, it may not be unsuitable or unreasonable, without treating a sacred subject with levity, to listen to the testimony of an Arab chief as to the completion of the work of desolation. Nor does this testimony lose its interest or its force because the fact of the completeness of that desolation was conjoined, even in the mind of such a man, with the expression, in the same breath, of a vague notion of some ancient prophecy concerning it.

"I was asked," says Mr. Buckingham, "whether I had seen Gerash? I replied, 'Yes;' and Ammon? continned my host; I answered that they were both in our road? 'Ah,' said the sheik, 'these were both princely cities once, but as the times are always growing worse, so these have come to nothing at last,* as, indeed, was prophesied concerning them of old.' I asked him when and where the destruction was foretold."†

The alleged prophecy was attributed to Solomon when a visitant to the king of Ammon! But he whose first proverb was, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," was not commissioned to reveal what Jeremiah was inspired

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 94, 95.

† Mr. Buckingham's *Travels in Palestine* and *among the Arab Tribes* abound with important facts illustrative of sacred geography, of the *capabilities* of the land from its great natural fertility, &c., and of the inspiration of the prophecies from its existing desolation, the illustrations of which are sometimes so incidentally given, that he who thus asked the Arab sheik where the destruction of Ammon was foretold, had complained but a short time before that his sleep had been broken during night by the bleating of flocks beside the ruins of Ammon—their predicted abode. His *Travels* are enriched with facts which illustrate both the prophetic and historical truth of Scripture. The value of his works in these respects will doubtless be increasingly appreciated. It is much to be desired that a cheap and partly abridged edition of his *Travels among the Arab Tribes* were published.

to write concerning Ammon. That that city, and many others, have *come to nothing at last*, may lead all to look for that which is written concerning the renovation of the cities which, like Ammon itself, shall be raised from their ruins. It is enough for the present to show that, when such a time is come, *the face of the land shall be covered with cities*, and that there is no need that there be, as there shall not be, a blank in the land of Ammon.

CHAPTER VIII.

RUINS IN GILEAD AND BASHAN, ETC.

BEFORE passing the Zerka, and entering a more ample field of nobler ruins, we may here, if anywhere, pause for a moment to drop a word of confident hope, like a seed which shall grow up into a tree by a river side, that more than ruins shall yet be raised, and that the children of Israel, though long as low as they, shall yet have power with God, and shall *prevail*, and Israel's inheritance be Israel's again.

When their patriarchal father, returning from Padanaram, had sent his two wives, and his servants, and his eleven sons, and all that he had, over the ford Jabbok, and was himself left alone, "there wrestled with him a man till the breaking of the day," whom he would not let go till he should bless him. Jacob prevailed—he was suffered to prevail—though his thigh shrunk at the touch of him who wrestled with him. The wrestling ceased when the blessing came from no human voice, "Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel—a prince with God—for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast *prevailed*." On passing over the Jabbok he rejoined his family under a new name, and the sons of Jacob were now the children of Israel, to bear in their posterity that everlasting name which the Lord had given them, the full import of which the world has yet practically to learn. Uttered as it was by the Lord, as Jacob returned to the land from which he had formerly fled, all its significancy shall not always be unacknowledged and unknown. He who, as a prince, had power with God, shall much more, as a prince, prevail with men. "In-

stead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth. I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations," Ps. xlv., 16, 17. Another task than that of the weary detail of ruin after ruin is yet in reserve for those who shall speak in the isles of the Gentiles, or in any part of the earth, of either side of the Jabbok, or any portion of the land of Israel, when the *former desolations* shall cease to be reckoned by units, that may now be counted by hundreds.

In leading the reader from one field of ruined cities to another, and entering on a new stage in the dreary route, it may be enough to say that the stream which we here pass is the Jabbok, and, if endowed with the spirit of faith, he may well be refreshed for encountering a desert by tasting of that brook by the way.

In passing through the land of Philistia and the hill-country of Judea, the writer felt the oppressiveness of the sensation irresistibly caused by the desolate aspect, in general, of all around, as if the cheerless scene had cast its own image on his heart. And he could not but seek relief in anticipating the time when *the joy* that has gone from the land shall return, and the tree stripped of its leaves shall again be "a noble vine." The dust of Zion may well be loved, but that love is none the less because that dust shall yet bring forth fruit to Israel. And well *may pleasure be taken in her stones;* but neither is it diminished by the fact that, in his own gracious time, the Lord shall raise them up into the palaces of Zion. Any sign that the time draweth nigh, or any token that, in the order of Providence, means are preparing, or that anything is ready — as all things finally must needs be—for the completion of his promises, when he shall *remember the land*, is like a fountain of living water in a desert, the deliciousness of which can only be tasted there.

On entering, therefore, on a more extensive field of ruins, first disclosed to view in these *latter days*, every one who can look around him with the eye of faith may now see such signs rising conspicuously into view; and may taste, if he will, that sweet fountain, which the very desolation or desertion of these cities has opened up for refreshing the faith of the Christian, and raising or reviving his hope that the time of Israel's redemption draweth nigh.

A light from heaven can alone enlighten the dark path on which we are entering, as that on which we have already

trodden. But that light is clear. *They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations.** There are distinctions here between these things thus severally marked, and there is a corresponding distinction in the works that have severally to be done. Hitherto we have looked on ruined towns, that need, with scarcely an exception, to be raised from the very dust. Some of these, like many others yet to come into our view, have to be cleared of the earth or rubbish that encumbers, and of the trees that cover them. All that have already been reviewed have to be *built* or *raised up* from their *foundations;* but there are many others to which these terms are not applied, which, notwithstanding, have to be *repaired* or renewed, and to be inhabited again, though all empty now. Different terms, expressive of the desolation, seem to denote its diversity. The same word which in the original describes the *waste* cities, is applied by the same prophet to the desolation of the highways, identifying that with their being *deserted* or *forsaken*—the highways lie waste; *the wayfaring man ceaseth.* The same distinction is otherwise implied or expressed. *They that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations;* and thou shalt be called the REPAIRER OF THE BREACH, the restorer of *cities to dwell in.*† The blindness of Israel was to continue "UNTIL THE CITIES BE WASTED WITHOUT AN INHABITANT, AND THE HOUSES WITHOUT MAN."

Long as darkness has rested on the ancient cities of Israel, this torch from the hand of him whose lips were touched with fire from off the altar of Israel's God, may light our way in joyful hope throughout them all, and shed its cheering light alike on the lowest of the ruins, and the largest of the deserted towns that have withstood unshaken the ravages of time. But it is needful only, without any such aid, to look on them as they are, in order to see, as plainly as the prophet has foretold, how many cities can be built again only by being *raised up from their very foundations;* how others have to be *repaired* or renewed rather than to be rebuilt; how *habitations* have been *forsaken and left like a wilderness;*‡ how *the palaces have been forsaken, and the city has been left;*§ how *the cities have been forsaken, so that men do not*

* Isa., lviii., 12. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid., xxvii., 10. § Ibid., xxxii., 14.

dwell therein;* and how, whatever may be signified by the fact, it is itself visible and indisputable, *the cities are wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man.*†

Ruins are as abundant on the north as on the south of the Zerka. They are still met with "at every step." The next district on which we enter also boasts of its 366 ruined towns and villages, a hyperbolical mode of expression, denoting a vast number. But though, strictly speaking, they be not so numerous as days in the year, the allegation, as comparatively near to the truth, may be more justifiable there than in other lands, limited to a similarly defined territory; and these regions, that vie with each other now in the multitude of their ruins, as anciently in the magnificence of their cities, have less reason than any country in Europe, were its towns and villages estimated so highly, to blush at such a boast, for the number of ruins is greater there than that of cities or towns in any equal space, China itself scarcely excepted.

Having seen, specially, how numerous are the ruins that are spread over the now houseless lands of Moab and Ammon, pages need not be filled with the names of those which bestrew the kingdom of Bashan in numbers amply sufficient to vindicate the scriptural record, concerning its *sixty cities, besides unwalled towns and villages a great many*, which pertained to its ancient kingdom, the loss of which gave to Og, king of Bashan, an immortal name. But as this record, like others, has been seized on and assailed, it may not be amiss to show specially here, exclusive of their multiplicity, what noble cities that land did sustain, and how these very ruins, from the beauty of their edifices and solidity of their structure, may mock in return the proudest of the cities in which these scoffers dwell.

The cities of the Decopolis might, in ancient times, like those of Judea, have maintained a mutual rivalry; but scarcely anywhere are ruins to be found which outvie those of Jerash, supposed, from the similarity of the name, to be the ancient *Gerasa*, situated on a small stream which flows into the *Zerkah*. They not only prove the magnificence and importance of the ancient city, but, though unknown, like those of Petra, till the present century, they show that even Palmyra and Baalbec were not unrivalled in the splendour of their edifices by other cities that, like them, once stood in

* Jeremiah, iv., 29. † Isa., vi., 11.

their glory within the allotted inheritance of Israel. Fallen as they are, enough is left to prove that the banks of a streamlet of that oft-derided land were so enriched and adorned, even by a people given up to idolatry, as to challenge in their magnificence, though in ruins, any spot in Europe, the most richly garnished with princely edifices. Lofty columns generally pertain only to palaces or temples, or other public buildings, which are thus, as well as by their greatness, distinguished from the common habitations even of royal cities. But the streets of Jerash were lined with colonnades from end to end, and opened a way to public edifices, which yet lost not their distinction, while statelier or finer columns were doubled or multiplied around them.

Extending on both the ascending sides of the small stream which nearly intersected the city, the walls, where not almost entire, form a distinct lineal mound of *hewn stones*, of a considerable height, and, in a circuit of an hour and a half, they enclose an immense space almost entirely covered with ruins. The principal street, extending nearly from one extremity of the ruins to the other, was lined on both sides with columns, many of which are fallen, many fractured and shortened, and not a few still erect and unbroken; some thirty feet high, others twenty-five, and the lowest about twenty: "where a high column stands near a shorter one, the architecture over the other reposes upon a projecting bracket worked into the shaft of the higher one." On one side of the street, in less than a third part of its length, thirty-four columns are yet standing. Behind the colonnade there are in some places vaulted apartments, which appear to have been shops. Cross streets, diverging at various distances from the long central street, had also their colonnades, and were adorned with public edifices or bridges, while the more distant spaces on each side are covered with indiscriminate ruins of the habitations of the more humble citizens. The remains of pavement in several streets may put to shame the capital of France. One, at least, of the bridges has been raised to a great height, to render the acclivity less dangerous; and, as observed by Lord Claud Hamilton, transverse lines, to prevent horses from slipping, have been cut on the pavement, as may be seen on some of the hills in the city of London. Near a copious fountain of the clearest water, not far from the centre of the ruins, is a large building, with massive walls, consisting of arched chambers, similar to Roman baths,

which was doubtless a public bath; another yet remains in the same quarter, which was surrounded by a colonnade, some of the pillars of which are still erect. Opposite to the large bath, in a straight line across the centre of the city, passing an elevated bridge anciently environed by ornamental structures, and from thence through a street lined on both sides by columns, an arched gateway, facing the chief street, leads to the splendid remains of a magnificent temple, such as few countries could have ever shown. The base of the edifice is now covered with its fallen roof. Three of the walls still stand, showing the niches for images. The front of the temple was adorned with a noble portico, with three rows of grand Corinthian columns thirty-five or forty feet in height, the capitals of which are beautifully ornamented with acanthus leaves. The spacious area within which it stood was surrounded in like manner by a double row of columns, the total number of which, that originally adorned the temple and its area, was not less, in the estimation of Burckhardt, than two hundred or two hundred and fifty.* Near to this temple stands a theatre which has sixteen rows of benches, with a tier of six boxes, between every two of which is a niche, "forming a very elegant ornament," and as befitting a station for idols as the walls of a church. Such is the transformation it has undergone, that in 1839 a fine crop of tobacco occupied the arena, which is about fifty paces in diameter. The theatre was adorned with a quadrangle of fine large Corinthian columns, the entablature of which is perfect.

In the construction of the city and the position of its principal edifices, now the monument of its glory, nature has been seconded or followed by art. An eminence on one end of the city, opposite to the termination of the grand street which led to the other, was the site both of a temple and of a theatre, which were placed in pagan juxtaposition like the former. The low hill on which they stood was connected with the princely street by a magnificent semicircle of Ionic columns, embracing an open space at its base, fifty-seven of which are still standing, their height having been varied with the rising ground to give a uniform level to the whole entablature. The immense theatre, larger than that of Bacchus at Athens, and estimated as having been capable of containing eight thousand spectators, was

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 254.

partly cut out of the rock and partly built; the front wall, or proscenium, is very perfect, and embellished within by five richly-decorated niches, which are connected together by a line of columns, of which there is another parallel range within. Beside it are the remains of a beautiful temple, ornamented with pilasters surrounded by Corinthian capitals; without, it was surrounded by a peristyle of grand columns of the same order, supporting an entablature; and, facing the city, there was a noble portico of two rows of columns, to which a grand flight of steps led from below. Now, in the words of Lord Claud Hamilton, "the columns, capitals, and cornice all lie confusedly in a common ruin. The view from this spot is still most wonderful, but in the days of Gerasa's glory it must have been a spectacle of unequalled magnificence. The whole town, including a vast area, and surrounded by an immense wall, is at your feet. Immediately below is the noble Ionic crescent, from the centre of which the main street extends. Of the continued line of columns on each side, now eighty-three only are standing with their entablatures, but portions and pedestals of the remainder are clearly visible. Around them, on every side, are confused heaps of well-cut stone, and piles of ruins which have only fallen from the violence of ruthless barbarism. These columns, raising their slender forms among the general wreck, and stretching in so long a line amid the remains of former magnificence, produce an effect which nothing in Italy, Greece, or Egypt has yet presented to me. To the right, the noble temple first mentioned stands against the sight, displaying the beautiful proportions of its matchless portico, and in every direction, columns, colonnades, and massive walls attest the wealth, the power, and the taste that once dwelt in this desolate spot, and read a lesson to human vanity that cannot readily be forgotten." Looking on the splendid ruins from a higher and more distant elevation, Mr. Buckingham thus describes the magnificent scene: "The circular colonnade, the avenues of Corinthian pillars forming the grand street, the southern gate of entrance, the naumachia, and the triumphal arch beyond it, the theatres, the temples, the aqueducts, the baths, and all the assemblage of noble buildings which presented their vestiges to the view, seemed to indicate a city built only for luxury, for splendour, and for pleasure, although it was a mere colonial town in a foreign province, distant

from the capital of the great empire to which it belonged, and scarcely known either in sacred or profane history. It would be vain to attempt a picture of the impressions which followed such a sight."*

Bozrah, though anciently more famous, is not entitled to so distinguished a place among ruins as the comparatively obscure Gerasa. Still, however, while the remains of the castle and of its walls are tokens of the strength that has departed from it, it is not destitute of memorials of the elegance with which it was adorned, of the idolatry of which, even when nominally Christian, it was guilty, while it everywhere bears witness of judgment, and, broken as it is, is full of ample materials wherewith to reconstruct a noble city.

Its wide walls, in some places almost entirely perfect, are about three miles in circumference, but the immediate environs are also covered with ruins. The western gate of the town is a fine arch, with niches on each side, in perfect preservation. A broad paved causeway, of which traces remain, and vestiges of ancient pavement, are seen in many of the streets, with a paved footway on each side. All the streets were very narrow, just permitting a loaded camel to pass; and, crowded as they are, indicate a most condensed population. The south and southeast quarters are covered with ruins of private dwellings, the walls of many of which are still standing, but most of the roofs have fallen.

The first remarkable building described by Mr. Buckingham gives evidence at once of the nicety and solidity of its structure, and of the prevalence of a form of worship ill accordant with the simplicity of the Gospel. It is an evidence thus of what has been done, and might, were it needful, be renewed in the form of structure, and it bears witness, too, like thousands of proofs besides, that the faith which was there established, and has perished, was not pure.

The masonry of the exterior was smooth, well executed, and apparently old, the stones having been let in, or dovetailed into each other, like those of other buildings in the Haouran, and thus united *without cement*. The interior presents a miserable work of the Greek Christians, by whom it was no doubt used as a place of worship up to its period

* Buckingham's Palestine. Burckhardt's Syria, p. 252–264. Lord Claud Hamilton's MS. Journal.

of destruction. The walls were stuccoed on the inside, and portions of this remain, showing that it had once been ornamented with portraits and figures of the principal Greek saints; the pillars have also been marked with the cross, but seemingly subsequent to its original construction.*

The same, or a similar building, is the first described also by Burckhardt. The roof is fallen in, but the walls are entire, having many arches and niches. There are two large niches on each side of the door, and opposite to it, on the east side of the circle of the sanctuary.

Near it is an oblong square building, of which also the roof is fallen in, and the walls remain, having a high vaulted niche. Between these is another edifice, the only remains of which is a large semicircular vault, with neat decorations and four niches in the interior; before it lie a heap of stones and broken columns.†

The great mosque of Bozrah, built and dedicated as it was to Moslem worship, must now be also numbered among the ruins. Part of its roof has fallen in. Ruined itself, it still bears witness of the triumph of Moslemism over the degenerate faith of the lower empire. From end to end, both walls are lined with a double row of columns, transported here from the ruins of some Christian temple in the town. Sixteen of these are fine variegated marble columns, distinguished both for the beauty of the materials and of the execution. They are each about sixteen or eighteen feet, of a single block, and well polished.‡ Changed as their office hitherto has been, to take alternately their place among painted saints, or to be surmounted by a crescent, and unbroken as they have been for twelve hundred years, the time may not be distant when they shall undergo another transmutation, and become the ornament of an edifice neither desecrated by idolatry, as was that in which they first stood, nor destined to fall like the roof of the great mosque, the materials of which are now strewed around their base.

But the principal ruin of Bozrah is not that of a mosque, but of a temple, which, like the other, though little remains, has still something to tell. "Of this temple nothing remains but the back wall, with two pilasters, and a column joined by its entablature to the main wall; they are all of the Co-

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 167.
† Burckhardt, p. 196, 197.
‡ Ibid., p. 228.

rinthian order, and both capitals and architraves are richly adorned with sculpture. In the wall of the temple are three rows of niches, one over the other. Fronting it are four large Corinthian columns, equalling in beauty of execution the finest of those at Baalbec and Palmyra (those in the Temple of the Sun at the latter place excepted); they are quite perfect, six spans in diameter, and somewhat more than forty feet in height.* These splendid columns, the monuments of a temple which triple lines of saints could not preserve, may yet adorn an edifice when the Holy One of Israel shall be worshipped there, significantly worthy of the name which the ruin now uuintelligibly bears, "Serait-el-Bint-el-Yahoodi, or the *Palace of the Jew's daughter.*"†

Near to this ruin is a triumphal arch almost entire. The approach to it is choked up with private houses, as is the case with all the public buildings in Bozrah, except the church first mentioned. It consists of a high central arch, with two lower side arches, between which are Corinthian pilasters with *projecting bases for statues*. On the inside of the arch were several large niches, now choked up with heaps of broken stones.‡ Another triumphal arch of smaller dimensions is remarkable for the thickness of its walls.

A building called El-Human, or the Bath, has in the interior four pointed arches, with concave recesses, formed by alternate layers or rays of black and white stone. The upper dome of the bath was a brickwork of a bright red colour, neatly and strongly cemented together. Opposite to it was a large building entirely constructed out of the ruins of more ancient edifices. Its last use seems to have been that of a place of Christian worship. Some of the stucco-work on the wall was extremely rich. In some places were seen columns of white marble in one solid shaft; in others, pillars of black basalt. Beside it is a square tower, the door of which is one solid slab of stone, hung by pivots traversing in sockets above and below. It is ascended by sixteen stages of steps, four in each, or sixty-four steps in all. On the top is an open space, enclosed by a high wall, on each side of which is a double arched window divided by a column, the roof and ceiling being of solid stone. Every part of the tower is strong and perfect.§ Such was the solidity of some of the structures of Bozrah.

* Burckhardt, p. 229, 230.
† Buckingham, p. 200.
‡ Burckhardt, p. 231.
§ Buckingham, p. 198, 199.

Numberless as are the symptoms of the decline and the decay of Mohammedanism, the mosque of El-Melrak, without the walls of Bozrah, may deserve a passing notice. "Ibn Affan, who first collected the scattered leaves of the Koran into a book, relates that when Othman, in coming from the Hedjaz, approached the neighbourhood of Bozrah with his army, he ordered his people to build a mosque on the spot where the camel that bore the Koran should lie down." Such was the origin of the mosque of El-Melrak, or, a halting-place. Mohammedanism had scarcely a halting-place in its rise, and, when the time is come, it shall have none in its fall. A few specimens yet remain of the Cufic inscriptions with which the interior of the mosque was embellished. The dome which covered it was destroyed by the Wahabees.*

On the west side Burckhardt counted five springs of fresh water beyond the precincts of the town, and six within the walls, all which unite with a rivulet, whose course also rises among the ruins. In the eastern quarter of the town is a large reservoir almost perfect, 190 paces in length and 153 in breadth, enclosed by a wall seven feet thick, built of large square stones, its depth about twenty feet.†

Of the vineyards for which Bozrah was celebrated, even in the days of Moses, and which are commemorated by the medals of the Roman colony, ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ ΒΟΣΤΡΗΣ, not a vestige remains. There is scarcely a tree in the neighbourhood of the town, and the twelve or fifteen families who now inhabit it cultivate nothing but wheat, barley, horse-beans, and a little dhoura. A number of fine rose-trees grow wild among the ruins of the town, and were just beginning to open their buds,‡ to blossom there, where the power of man has fallen, and all his glory has faded.

A few striking facts demonstrate the extreme populousness in ancient times of that extensive region, which took its name from the number of the illustrious cities it contained. Ruins testify more than any records that these were but the chief of many more. Brought newly to light as they are, only an inadequate representation of the stores of ruins with which it is full could be conveyed by following the track of those few travellers who have visited it, and by describing even minutely what they saw. They seldom rested, or could rest, to make a searching and satisfactory ex-

* Buckingham, p. 235. † Burckhardt, p. 232. ‡ Ibid., p. 230.

amination. A transient inspection was often all that they could give. A written description on the spot was generally impracticable, or only effected by stealth. Frequently they could not turn aside to visit ruins in the vicinity of their path. Sometimes they travelled without intermission, with more than ordinary speed. Their united journeyings left much unexplored; and they heard of ruins, and partly saw them at a distance, extending over regions which they could not penetrate. But, incomplete as their testimony is, there is no lack of proof that the cities and the towns were as numerous as any land could sustain; and their peculiar features are sufficiently distinguished to trace in them a perfect consistency with what Scripture history has recorded, a precise resemblance to what Scripture prophecy revealed, and an exact adaptation to all that it declares concerning the renovation that yet awaits them.

In journeying through the Haouran, and passing along a low range of hills, Mr. Buckingham, timely profiting by a casual delay, took by compass, on the summit of a rocky eminence, the bearing of 25 towns, 3 of which were computed to be distant half an hour, or two miles; 2, one hour; 1, an hour and a half; 4, two hours; 6, three hours; 4, four hours; 5, six hours; or twenty-five towns within a like number of miles from the spot from which he saw them spread around almost equally in every direction. The castle of Salghud was seen at the supposed distance of twelve hours, or nearly fifty miles.

He adds, "I have set down only the principal towns and places in view from the eminence on which we stood, omitting many smaller ones, but the enumeration is sufficient to show how populous a country must have been wherein so many towns and villages could be seen from a slight elevation above its surface. Excepting in the immediate environs of large cities, or on the borders of rivers, I should doubt whether any country on earth, not even excepting China, was ever more thickly peopled than these plains of the Haouran must have been when in their most flourishing state, with all their numerous towns fully inhabited."*

Such is the testimony of one, than whom very few have travelled more extensively; and his enumeration of the towns of the Haouran is exceeded, as will be seen, by that of others.

The precise locality from which these bearings were ta-

* Buckingham, p. 186, 187.

ken is definitely marked, namely, a rocky eminence about a quarter of a mile to the north of Sheik Hussein, and distant about eight hours, or twenty-four miles, N.W. ¼ N. from Bozrah.

From another spot, the ruined town *Walter*, seated on the top of a hill, and distant about twenty miles from the former, the same observant traveller took the bearings by compass of other towns, and computed the distances in miles by the eye. They were seen, as previously, in varying distances and in every direction, north, south, east, and west, spread over the face of the country. Twenty were there noted and named, the most distant of which were computed at twelve miles from the spot.

The castle of *Salghud* terminated the journeyings on the southeast of the Haouran both of Burckhardt and Buckingham, but it does not terminate the region where ruined cities abound. No European traveller has as yet penetrated beyond it. From its castle walls "a public road" is seen extending southeast, doubtless the very same king's highway of which Abulfeda speaks, and which bore the name Ar Raszif, *i. e.*, fortified by strongholds, and leading to Irak, or Persia. According to the itineraries, as he states, the journey to Bagdad was about ten days.* The road remains, though the *wayfaring man has ceased;* and on each side are ruined or deserted cities, in which no man dwells.

"In the best maps which we possess of this country," says Mr. Buckingham, "the region beyond Jordan to the east is very imperfectly delineated and described; but Bozrah and Salghud form the extreme border of all that is known, and beyond this the country has hitherto been supposed to be entirely a desert. How was I surprised, therefore, to see, as far as my sight could extend to the eastward, ruined towns without number, and a country which promised a still richer field to the scholar, the antiquarian, and the traveller, than even the interesting region behind us to the west."†

Besides five carefully noted from the west side, he took, from the eastern face of the castle, the bearings of those few places of which his guides could furnish the names. These, though few, the names of the rest being unknown, were ten in number, two of which are marked as large towns, within the space of eight miles on the eastern side alone. Mr. Eli Smith, whose testimony is enhanced by his long resi-

* Abulfeda, p. 106. † Buckingham's Travels, p. 217, 218.

dence in Syria, his diversified travels throughout it, and familiarity with the Arabic, obtained the names of twenty-two places east of Salghud, twenty-one of which are in ruins or deserted. But neither would his list appear to be complete, five names only being the same as those given by Mr. Buckingham, other five, or half the number of those he saw and noted, being omitted.*

On as superficial and cursory a view as could at all convey any precise and adequate idea of a land once universally overspread with towns, it thus appears that the bearings were actually taken by compass, from three different points, of sixty-four towns in the ancient land of Bashan, in hastily traversing that country, not from end to end, but partly from one side to another, and that these were but the chief or best known of many towns or cities spread everywhere throughout the land.

From "the rocky eminence," the first of these points of observation, both *Iddaragh*, the farthest town to the westward (W. by S.), lying at the distance of six hours, or above twenty miles, and the castle of *Salghud*, twice as far to the southeast, were at once in view. The most distant of these towns to the eastward (Talliloze, a large town) is reckoned eight miles E.S.E. of Salghud, the distance between the two extreme towns being about seventy or eighty miles, thus thickly studded with towns that the bearings of upward of sixty were taken from only three intermediate positions. Here, on scriptural ground and in the midst of scriptural names, which beyond a doubt identify the precise localities, the Christian reader will recognise, with hallowed interest, in Iddaragh or Draa, and Salghud, the once famous cities of Og, king of Bashan—Edrei and Salchah. At the former, that idolatrous monarch of many cities contended vainly in battle with Israel; and there, though his power was gigantic like himself, he lost all his sixty walled cities and many unwalled towns, and his kingdom and his land in a day. He went out, and all his people, to the battle of Edrei; but Israel smote him, and his sons, and his people, for the Lord delivered them into their hand.† They took all the cities of the plain, and all Bashan unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og, in Bashan.‡

It is doubly interesting, in looking now, as if by a single

* Buckingham's Travels, p. 216. Robinson and Smith's Researches, vol. iii., Appendix, p. 160. † Numb., xxi., 33, 35. ‡ Deut., iii., 10.

or second glance, from the one to the other of these very towns, and marking how numerous are the forsaken cities of the plain, to remember how they were thus, in a far-distant age, introduced to the notice of all future ages, and had a name in history which shall never perish; and now, when they are disclosed at last, as if a second time, to view, after impenetrable darkness had enveloped their actual state for ages, to take a narrow inspection of those cities, whose strong walls of old could not keep out the covenanted children of Israel, to whom, as such, their land pertained, in order to see whether there be any *cities without inhabitant, or houses without man*, open at last for the return and reception of those within whose *everlasting possession* the land of Bashan lies.

The territory south of Jabbok—we drop the heathen, and take up anew the scriptural name—includes but the *half of Gilead;* and that at which we have immediately glanced does not embrace the half of the Haouran. From south to north, as well as from west to east, bearings of as many towns might again be taken from every similar eminence. Mr. Buckingham, without even leaving the house in which he took up his temporary abode at *Mahadjee*, north of Ezra, went up with his host to the terrace of his dwelling, and obtained from him the names of such places as were visible from his housetop, and took the bearings and the estimated distance of fourteen towns, chiefly to the north and to the south, within the estimated distance of twelve miles, ten of which are "deserted," or *forsaken.*[*]

A description of the ruins of the Haouran alone, so far even as these have been discovered and examined, would fill a volume; but the works of Burckhardt and Buckingham may be specially referred to as conveying very ample information concerning that interesting region, which, after Seetzen, they were the first to explore.

The town of *Salghud*, or *Szalkhat* (*Salchah*), as seen by Mr. Buckingham, appeared to have been quite as large as Bozrah, and had, among other buildings, a square tower not unlike the one described in the ruins of that city, contains *upward of eight hundred houses without a single inhabitant.* It has a large mosque with a handsome minaret, the latter of which is only two hundred years old. The mosque seems to have been a repaired temple or church, as there are sev-

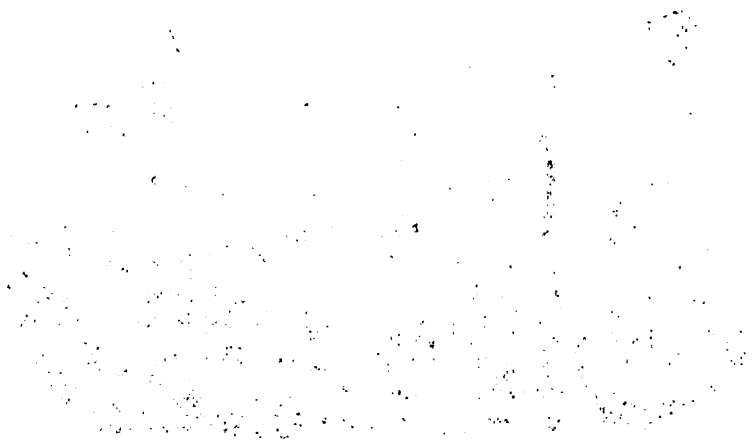
[*] Buckingham's Travels, p. 286, 287.

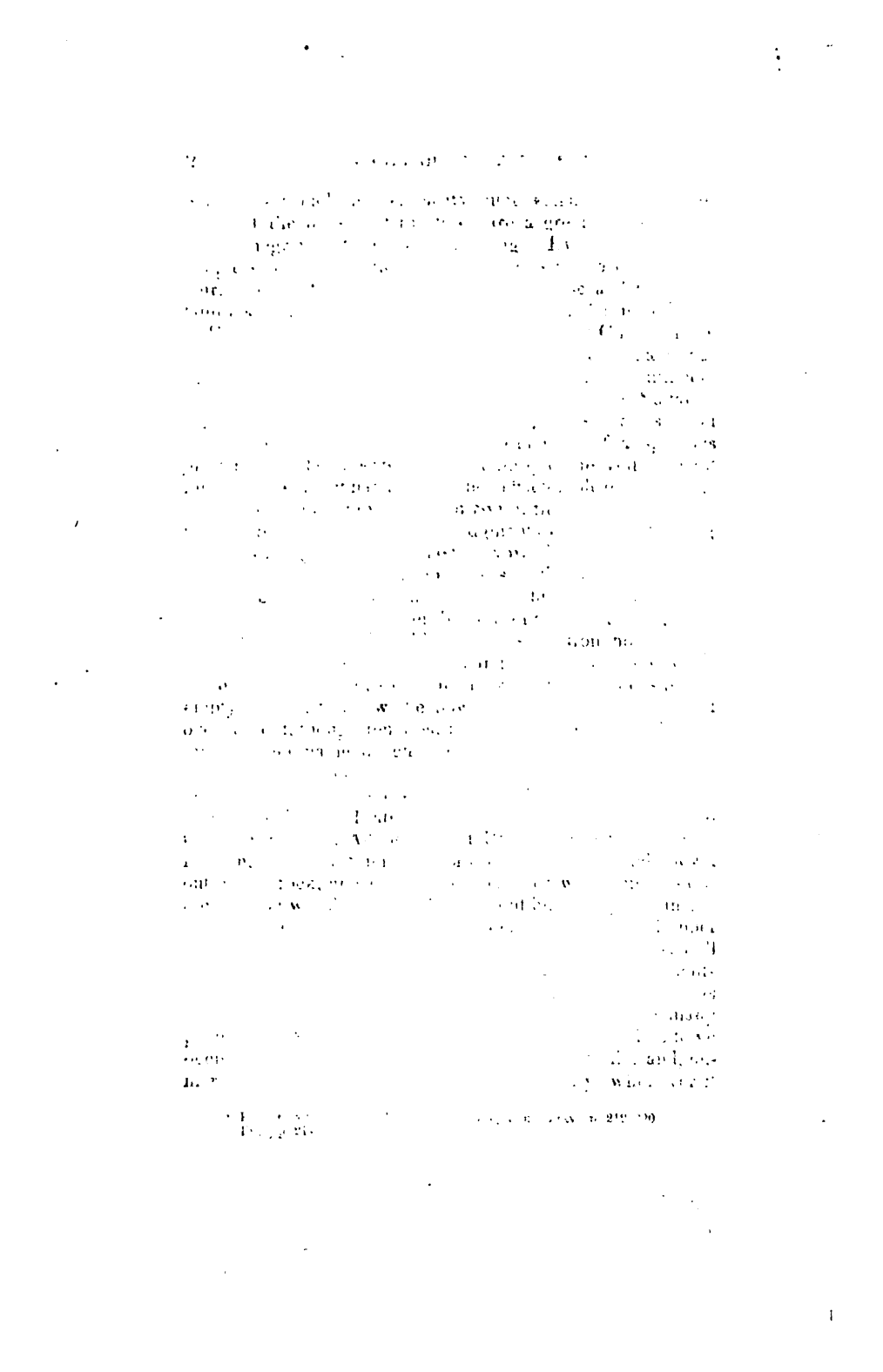
eral well-wrought niches on its outer walls. In the courtyards of the houses of the town are a great number of fig and pomegranate trees in full bearing. Every house has a deep cistern lined with stone. There is also a large reservoir. Only fifteen years since a few Druse and Christian families were established here as well as at Oerman.*

Fourteen hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, Salchah ceased to be a city of the King of Bashan, and was numbered among the cities of Israel. In the fourteenth century it long withstood a hard-pressed siege by the Sultan of Egypt. Only two centuries have elapsed since its chief minaret was built, the handsome ornament of a spacious mosque. In the outer walls of that mosque, the well-wrought niches show that it had formerly been "a temple or a church," as bearing, like many a wall in Syria, the common mark of paganism and popery. The judgments of a long-suffering God have come upon it at last. Now, for the first time in the present century, it is tenantless. The last inhabitants that lingered there have abandoned it, but bore the name of its citizens, and, when seen by Burckhardt at Khaleb, were still called Szalkhalie. The fortress, a stronghold by nature and art, which, like Askelon and many others, long withstood an arm of flesh, still remains, with its ruined castle and empty houses, to show the power of the word of the Lord over it; and, though tenanted in recent years, and still bearing the same name which it bore three thousand three hundred years ago, is now, at last, a city without inhabitants, and its hundreds of houses are each and all without man.

The castle (see Plate), which has a general resemblance to those of Szalt, Adjeloon, and Bozrah, is nearly circular in form, and is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, hewn out of the rock, and cased with masonry where necessary, the area on which it stands being eight hundred paces in circuit.† Burckhardt estimated the height of the paved upper hill to be sixty yards. The wall of the castle is flanked all round by towers and turrets. Most of the interior apartments are in complete ruins. Many of the large paved stones, as well as parts of the wall, have fallen down, and in many places have filled up the ditch to half its depth. The town occupies the south and west foot of the castle hill: and, numerous as are the houses in the empty city, whenever it

* Burckhardt's Syria, p. 100, 101. Buckingham's Trav., p. 212–220.
† Ibid., p. 214.





ROMAN RUIN AT GUNNAWAT.

CASTLE & RUINS OF SALGHUD.

shall be filled again with men of Israel, ample materials are prepared and at hand for enlarging it; for castles may be transformed into peaceful dwellings when the Lord himself shall be the strong tower of his people.

The country that lies between Salchah and *Oerman*, the intermediate distance being four or five miles, is full of ruined walls. In *Oerman*, which is an ancient city, are three towers or steeples, like those at Kuffer. Between two Greek inscriptions, on tablets fixed in a wall, is a niche about four feet high. The town has a spring and several reservoirs. It is *somewhat larger than Ayoun.*

Ruined walls again extend between this town and Oerman, distant one hour and a half. "At *Ayoun* are about *four hundred houses without any inhabitants.*"* On its west side are two walled-in springs, from whence the name is derived. Burckhardt saw in the town four public edifices, with arches in their interior; one of them is distinguished by the height and fine curve of the arches, as well as by the complete state of the whole building. Its stone roof has lost its original colour, and now presents a variety of hues, which on his entering surprised him much, as he had first supposed them to be painted. Beyond Ayoun, the ground for the space of three miles is covered with walls, which probably once enclosed orchards and well-cultivated fields. Abundant rains had covered the plain with rich verdure towards the close of November.†

At the distance of two hours from Ayoun, passing intermediately the ruined castle of *Keres*, is the ruined city *Zahouet-el-Khudder*, equally distant from which is the ruined city *Zaele*, which stands near a copious spring, and is half an hour in circuit. Burckhardt records the names of *nine ruined towns* eastward of Zaele, and gives the following striking testimony analogous to that of Buckingham, concerning the region farther to the south and eastward of Szalkhat, showing, in either case, how numerous were the cities which overspread a land which the ravages of the Arabs have converted into a nominal desert.‡

"The great desert extends to the N.E., E., and S.E. of Zaele; to the distance of *three days' journey eastward* there is still a good arable soil, intersected by numerous tels, and covered with *the ruins of so many towns and villages*, that, as I am informed, in whatever direction it is crossed, the

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 97. † Ibid., p. 96, 97. ‡ Ibid., p. 93–95.

traveller is sure to pass, in every day, *five or six of these ruined places*. They are all built of the same black rock of which the Djebel consists."*

Such from Zaele southward was the route by which Mr. Burckhardt approached to Szalkhat; that by which he left it is not less copious in illustrations how cities are desolate without inhabitants, how houses are still standing without men to tenant them, and how other desolate cities have yet to be raised up from their foundations.

Southward of Szalkhat one hour and a half stands the high *Telabd Maaz*, with a ruined city of the same name; there still remain large plantations of vines and figs. Near it is another ruin south one hour, *Tel Mashkouk*, towards which are the ruins *Tehhoule*, *Kfer*, and *Khererribe*.†

Kereye, which he next passed, is a city containing *five hundred houses*, of which only *four* were then *inhabited*. "It has several ancient towers and public buildings; of the latter, the principal has a portico consisting of a triple row of six columns in each, supporting a flat roof; seven steps, extending the whole breadth of the portico, lead from the first row up to the third. Behind the colonnade is a birket surrounded by a strong wall."‡ Kereye is situated about three hours' journey from Salghud, and nearly the same distance from Bozrah. "It appears," says Mr. Buckingham, "to have been, in its flourishing state, quite as large as Bozrah, judging from the extent of space now covered with its ruins."§ There were many of the large, massy doors of stone, which must be considered as a peculiarity of the aboriginal or earliest style of architecture known in this country.

Conjoining Burckhardt's account with those of Mr. Buckingham, who travelled in 1816, and of Mr. Robinson, who journeyed through the Haouran in 1830, and was accompanied by Captain (now Colonel) Chesney, a succinct statement may be given of the chief ruins or remains of the numerous towns of the Haouran.

Soueida, situated on the west side of Djebel Haouran, nearly opposite to Zaele on the east, was formerly one of the largest cities of the Haouran. The circuit of its ruins is at least four miles. In a street through which Burckhardt passed, the houses are standing on both sides;‖ he was twelve minutes in walking from the one end to the oth-

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 94. † Ibid., p. 102, 103. ‡ Ibid., p. 103.
§ Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 213. ‖ Burckhardt, p. 61,

er. Like the streets of modern cities in the East, it is very narrow, but on both sides there is a narrow pavement, and arched, open rooms, supposed to have been shops. The street commences at a large arched gate in the upper part of the town, descending from which, opposite to a fountain, is an elegant building of the shape of a crescent, the whole front of which forms a kind of niche, within which are three smaller niches. In the same street is an edifice with four rows of arches, on an inverted stone in one of the interior walls of which, a Greek inscription would seem to indicate that Soueida had been the station of the fourteenth legion. The edifice, now a mosque, is a hundred and fifty feet in length. A tower eighty feet high, two sides of which are fallen, forms the termination of the street. The town was apparently intersected with streets passing at right angles through each other, which were paved with stones so firmly imbedded in the soil that most of them still remain. The houses are all of stone, and only in such as have been recently repaired is there any wood to be seen. Eight beautiful Corinthian columns, the remains of a colonnade which surrounded a large building, now in ruins, are still standing on the top of the hill, four of which support a perfect entablature. A large building in ruins, to which a monastery was adjoined, still bears the name of El Kenisset (the church), 130 feet long by 89 broad. At the eastern end is a large niche, thirty-one feet across, with two smaller ones on each side. Apparently, there were formerly columns with the lotus leaf, forming a gallery all around. It is now a roofless ruin. Soueida is (or was) the capital of the Druses, and the residence of their emir or prince; but, though once a great city, as it might well be made again, it bears its proper designation, "a Druse village," containing, in 1816, about 200 families. "It is well supplied," says Mr. Buckingham, "with water, not only from many streams in its neighbourhood, but also from a fine spring gushing from the solid rock. On the west end of the town is a lake or receiver, lined with stone, about 600 paces in circumference, and in the centre of the town is a circular reservoir, entirely lined with masonry, more than three hundred paces in circuit, with a staircase to the bottom, and, as variously stated, at least thirty or fifty feet deep. Among the remains are those of a Roman theatre."*

* Buckingham, p. 233-239. Burckhardt, p. 80-82. Mr. G. Robinson's Trav., vol. ii., p. 157-159.

About six miles northward of Soueida is the large ruined town of *Aatyl*, now a small village in the midst of a wood. There are the remains of two ancient temples. One of these is in complete ruins; on each side of the gate were two niches, and in front a portico of columns, the number of which it is impossible to determine, the ground being covered with a heap of fragments of columns, architraves, and large square stones. The other temple is of elegant construction. The sculptural ornaments are richly designed, and there *are concave niches* in several parts. It has a portico of two columns and two pilasters, each of which has a projecting *base for a statue*, elevated from the ground above one third of the height of the columns, like the pillars of the grand colonnade at Palmyra. *Many of the ancient buildings, with stone roofs, are still standing.* In the centre of the town is a square tower. There was a large reservoir for water, and there are *many houses unoccupied*, there being only (in 1816) a few Druse families residing among the ruins.*

Kanouat, or Gunnawat, retains ample memorials of a splendid city. Its site is overgrown with shrubs and oaks, which greatly conceal its ruins, of which the pillars, that rise from among them, give the first indication to the approaching traveller. The first building described by Buckingham† is one in which the emblem of the cross is visible in every part, and the whole appearance of which proved it to have been a Greek church. Another fine Corinthian temple, 75 paces long and 35 paces broad, had a beautiful portico in front. On the east of it is an extensive building with colonnades, arches, doors, passages, and galleries so numerous, it is said, that it would take a whole day, at least, to give an outline plan of them. Another building, like a Roman temple, and a theatre, are also numbered among the ruins. But the principal building of Kanouat is a large edifice on a height, supposed to have been a palace, the masonry of which is peculiarly good. Large apartments, with columns highly ornamented, still remain, one of which is above 70 feet long and nearly 50 wide. Some of the columns of Kanouat, three feet and a half in diameter, and thirty-five feet high, are worthy of being ranked with the finest of those of Gerasa or Palmyra. Towers with two stories, raised upon arches, stand isolated in dif-

* Burckhardt, p. 222-224. Robinson, p. 156. † Buckingham, p. 242-245.

ferent parts of the town, in one of which Burckhardt observed a peculiarity of structure met with in other places, the stones being cut so as to dovetail and fit very closely. The streets were all originally paved. The

magnificent vestibules of the palace, with its spacious halls, and the noble porticoes of the temples, and the splendid columns, were lost upon the two poor Druse families at one time, and five or six at another, its only inhabitants, who were occupied in the cultivation of a few tobacco fields.*

Many *hewn* and sculptured blocks of stone, evidently the fragments of former edifices, are scattered along the road leading from the S.W. to the ruins of *Shobba*. The walls, about four miles in circumference, are in many places perfect, and, together with the loftiness of its public edifices, attest the former importance of the city. Eight gates, of three arches each, lead through streets of ruined habitations, the pavement of which is perfect. Near the centre of the city, four massy cubical structures, built with square stones, and quite solid, formed a sort of square, supposed seats for statues. A large crescent-shaped edifice, with several niches in the front, bears the name of the palace, and is, or was, the residence of the sheik. Near it stands another large edifice, built with massy stones, with a spacious gate: its interior consists of a double range of arched chambers, one above the other, but is so encumbered with ruins that the lower range is choked up as high as the capitals of the columns which support the arches. The walls of other large buildings yet remain. A semicircular wall ten feet thick, with nine arched entrances, encloses a theatre in good preservation, built of *hewn stone*, and encircled by a double row of vaulted chambers. Five or six arches, forty feet high, are the most conspicuous remains of an aqueduct, which extended for two miles, and terminated at a public building, once a magnificent bath. It contains vaulted entrances and spacious rooms, one of which is seventy feet by thirty, another sixty by twenty-four, height twenty-seven feet eight inches, both arched with lava mortar and other light materials, which have fallen in. Attached to it were three circular buildings, twenty-nine

* Burckhardt, p. 83–86. Robinson's Trav., vol. ii., p. 153–155.

feet in diameter, covered with a dome. All the walls, some of which are 12 feet thick, are built of large square stones, and so easily does it admit of renovation, that the roofs of some of the chambers were recently entire. One of the rooms in the bath would have contained all the inhabitants of Shobba. From the terrace of one of its houses Mr. Buckingham took the bearings of four "*uninhabited towns*," all lying within the estimated distance of six miles.*

The ruins of *Draa*, or *Edrei*, famous in the Israelitish annals, cover a space of two miles and a half in circumference. At the entrance of the town is a well-built bridge of five arches, in perfect preservation. A reservoir, lined with stone, in the hollow of the mountain, 160 yards by 65 wide, and 20 deep, and, besides other ruins of minor importance, including a large building with a cupola, an immense rectangular edifice, 133 feet long by 96 broad, with a double-curved colonnade all round, betoken no mean ancient city. "It is now (1816) entirely deserted, and the inhabitants have taken refuge in Ghirbee."†

While many ruined or deserted towns, whose names never had a place in extant records, show how imperfect was every ancient testimony concerning them, cities, on the other hand, which came into the view of the historian, and which ancient geographers could not overlook, have not only been given over to oblivion for ages, but have sunk into such obscurity, that, in searching for ruins the most worthy of notice, they would be passed over in silence, were it not for the redeeming virtue of their ancient fame.

Mezareib, supposed to occupy the site of Ashteroth, the royal city of Og, king of Bashan, is the first station of the Hadj route from Damascus, and can now boast only a single castle, with nothing but its naked walls, in which provisions are deposited for the pilgrims. Near it stands a castle, around which are many ruins of ancient buildings.‡

The ruined town of *Om Keis* is supposed by Seetzen to be the representative of Gadara, and by Buckingham and Burckhardt, of Gamala: towns too famous, from the great slaughters there in the last Jewish war. Heaps of *wrought stones* now cover the summit of the hill on which it stood. The remains of two large theatres show that in later ages

* Buckingham, p. 257–261. Burckhardt, p. 70–73. Mr. Robinson, p. 146–150.
† Buckingham, p. 168. Robinson, p. 167, 168.
‡ Burckhardt, p. 241. Robinson, p. 214, 215.

it was a city given to pleasure. A vast quantity of shafts and columns lie along a once colonnaded street like that of Gerasa. Nothing is at present standing, but there are *immense heaps of cut stones*, columns, &c., dispersed over the plain. The walls of the ancient city are still easily discernible; within them the pavement of the city is very perfect, the traces of chariot wheels are still marked in the stones. The testimony of one traveller is followed by that of another. "We found not a single inhabitant," says Burckhardt. "There are no inhabitants," says Buckingham.*

The ruins of *Abil, Abila*, another of the cities of the Decapolis, seems to have nothing now worthy of diverting the traveller from his course in pursuing his way to more remarkable and attractive ruins. It is said that neither buildings nor columns remain standing, but there are fragments of columns of a very large size.

Ruins abound on the north as well as on the south of the Jarmock, which is doubtless the Hieromax of the Greeks, and now bears the name of Sheirat-el-Mandhour. Abila is near its northern bank; and the district of Jaulan, anciently Gaulonitis, lies to the north of that stream, immediately on the east of the Lake Tiberias.

The only inhabited village on the east side of the lake is Kherhet Szammera, with some ancient buildings. Its site seems to correspond with that of the ancient Hippos, one of the chief cities of the Decapolis.†

Between the Cape of Tiberias and the village of Feik is an insulated hill, having extensive ruins of buildings, walls, and columns on the top. They are, perhaps, says Burckhardt, the remains of the ancient town of Regaba, or Argob.‡

Half an hour from Feik is a heap of ruins called Radjam-el-Abhar. At three quarters of an hour distant is the ruined village El-Aal, on the side of the Wady Semak, which empties itself into the lake near the ruined city of *Medjeifera*, on the other side of the wady. About half an hour distant from it is the ruined city *Kaszr Berdoweil* (a castle of Baldwin); about two hours and a quarter from Feik are the ruins of an extensive city, *Khastein*.§

The ruins of towns thus overspread the country, whether on the east of the Lake of Tiberias, or of the Jordan, or far-

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 418, &c. Burckhardt, p. 270-273. Robinson, p. 211, 212. Irby and Mangles, p. 297.
† Burckhardt, p. 278, 279. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid., p 281.

ther east in the Haouran, from south to north, or throughout the intermediate wide territory once covered with the cities of the plain.

Towards the north of the Haouran, and in the Ledja, ruined or deserted towns are not less frequent. To say, as previously, that from the top of a house several ruined or deserted towns may be seen within the compass of a few miles, may forcibly convey some idea of their number, but cannot impart any adequate conception of their past, their present, and prospective state.

That land of many cities has now become a land of mere villages or tents. Of its villages Ezra is one of the most considerable, containing, or that twelve years ago contained, about two hundred families, Turks, Druses, and Greek Christians. "Ezra was once a flourishing city. Its ruins are between three and four miles in circumference. The present inhabitants continue to live in the ancient buildings, which, in consequence of the strength and solidity of their walls, are for the *greater part in complete preservation*. They are built of stone, as are all the houses of the villages of the Haouran and Djebel Haouran, as well as of those in the desert beyond Bozrah. In many places are two or three arched chambers, one above the other, forming so many stories. This substantial mode of building prevails also in most of the public edifices remaining in the Haouran. To complete the durability of these structures, most of the doors were anciently of stone, and of these many are still remaining; they turn upon hinges worked out of the stone, and are about four inches thick, and seldom higher than four feet, though I met with some nine feet in height."*

Mr. Buckingham describes one of these houses at Ezra, which he entered and examined, and which was "unoccupied," or *without man*, though no part of it was destroyed, or even materially injured. The front exhibited the singular kind of masonry before described, the stones being interlocked within each other by a kind of dovetailing, and thus very strongly united *without cement*, with small windows both of the square and circular form, both in the same range. The central room of this house was large and lofty, and on each side of it was a wing, separated from the central room by open arcades at equal distances from the sides and from each other. The east wing appeared to have been the

* Burckhardt, p. 57, 58.

kitchen, as in it were seen two large fireplaces in the stone wall, with hearths, as in the farmhouses in England, and a large earthen vase, half buried in the centre of the floor, and capable of containing at least a hogshead of water, with small recesses, like cupboards, around the walls. This room was low, being not more than a foot above a tall man's height; but the stone ceiling was as smooth as planks of wood, as well as the ends of the stones on which the massy beams that formed this roof and ceiling rested. In the centre of it was sculptured a wreath, the ends fastened with ribands, and a fanciful design within it, all executed in a style that proved it to be beyond all question Roman. In the opposite, or western wing, were other low rooms; and before the house was a flight of stone steps, projecting from the wall, and unsupported except by the end, imbedded in original masonry, leading up to the terrace of the dwelling. In front of the whole was an open paved court, and beyond this, stables with stalls and troughs, all hewn out of stone, for camels, oxen, mules,"* &c.

Of the most considerable ruins which, in general, have best resisted the destructive hand of time, the walls of most are yet erect; and there are the remains of a range of houses which, to judge from their size and solidity, seem to have been palaces. In the midst of the present inhabited part of the town are the remains of a large quadrangular edifice, the roof of which consisted of thirteen rows of arches, five in each, parallel to each other, of which three now remain. The centre has fallen, roof, columns, and all. It was evidently used as a place for Christian worship, subsequently converted into a mosque, and recently abandoned. Adjoining it is a square tower about fifty feet high: similar structures are frequently seen in the Druse villages. On the south side of the village stands a square edifice, dedicated to St. George, measuring ninety feet each way, with a semicircular projection of the eastern side, which contained the altar. The vaulted roof, of modern construction, is supported by eight square columns in the centre of the quadrangle.†

From the terrace of a house in Ezra, Mr. Buckingham took the bearings of eight towns within the distance of eight miles, five of which were *deserted*.‡ At nearly the same distance to the northeast, a hill is covered with the ruins of

* Buckingham, p. 277, 278.
† Mr. Robinson's Trav., vol. ii., p. 138.
‡ Buckingham, p. 279.

the ancient city of *Keratha*, of which the foundations alone remain entire.

Different routes from Ezra to Damascus give redoubled evidence that the land on every side continues to be overspread with ruined or deserted cities.

At *Mahadjee*, about two hours north of Ezra, where Mr. Buckingham took from a house-top the bearing of ten deserted towns within twelve miles, the previous accounts which he had heard of the district of Ledjah being full of ruined towns and cities containing the remains of large edifices and innumerable inscriptions like those at Bozrah, Soueida, and Gunnawat, were confirmed by many persons, who all united in the same testimony, and to whom that district was familiarly known. Leaving Mahadjee, he saw in half an hour the large town of *Ikteeby*, about four miles on the left; in half an hour more he came in a line with *Geryh*, a town with two castles, which lay about half a mile on the left; and at the same time the town of *Gherbet-e-Wali* lay on the right three miles off, and *Buseer* and *El Ghoffy* about one mile distant, all within the stony district of Ledjah, all large, and all deserted and without inhabitants."*

Burckhardt, leaving the same place by a more easterly route, reached in two hours the village of Khabet, and in one hour from thence he passed the two ruined cities *Zebair* and *Zebir*, close to each other. Little more than another hour brought him to the ruined village Djedel; and in a like interval he reached *Dhami*, containing about three hundred houses, most of which are still in good preservation. There is a large building, whose gate is ornamented with sculptured vine-leaves and grapes like those at Kanouat. Each house appears to have had its cistern, and there are many also in the immediate vicinity of the town, formed by excavations in the rock. At half an hour's distance is another ruined place, Deir Dhami.†

In passing and repassing the same places at the short interval of two years, Burckhardt marked the rapid progress of desolation and desertion.

In 1810, *Shaara* was a well-peopled village, inhabited by a hundred Druse and Christian families, many of whom were engaged in the manufacture of saltpetre and gunpowder. Of the former article, the sheik of the village sent yearly to Damascus one hundred cantars.‡ In 1812 it was deserted

* Buckingham, p. 292. † Burckhardt, p. 110, 111. ‡ Ibid., p. 114.

without an inhabitant. Shaara was once a considerable city, built on both sides of a valley; it has several large structures solidly built, now deserted. In the upper town is an ancient edifice, thirty-six feet by forty, with arches resting upon columns, now converted into a mosque. Near it is a tower forty feet high. Most of the houses of the town are in good preservation. The walls, the rafters of the roofs, and the doors, are all of hewn stone. The tracks of ancient wheels in the pavement, as in many cities of the Haouran, are everywhere apparent. We did not meet, says Mr. Robinson in 1830, with a single inhabitant.*

In like manner, the ruined village of Beirit, which was inhabited in 1810, was in 1812 abandoned. The Haouran peasants wander from one village to another; in all of them they find commodious habitations in the ancient houses; a camel transports their family and baggage; and, as they are not tied to any particular spot by private landed property or plantations, and find everywhere large tracts to cultivate, they feel no repugnance at quitting the place of their birth. In one hour we passed Seleim, which in 1810 was inhabited by a few poor Druses, but is now abandoned. Here are the ruins of a temple, built with much smaller stones than any I had observed in the construction of buildings of a similar size in the Haouran.†

Distant an hour and a half from Shaara is *Missema*, a ruined town of three miles in circuit. The principal ruin in the town is a small elegant temple in tolerable preservation. The approach to it is over a broad paved area fifty-two feet deep. Four Corinthian columns stand in the centre and supported the roof, which, formed with light materials, has fallen since it was visited by Burckhardt. On each side of the entrance was a niche. Projecting from the bottom of each of the side walls are four pedestals for busts or statues. The centre niche at the northern end is beautifully turned in the shape of a shell. The signs of idolatry remain; but, beautiful as the temple is, the idolaters are gone. *Missema* has *no inhabitant;* we met, says Burckhardt, with only a few workmen digging the saline earth. We wandered over the ruins, says Mr. Robinson, in search of an inhabitant, but we found the place completely abandoned. East of Missema are no inhabited villages, but the Lochf contains several in ruins.‡

* Burckhardt, p. 221, 222.
† Ibid., p. 114, 212. Mr. Robinson's Trav., vol. ii., p. 134–139.
‡ Burckhardt, p. 115–118. Robinson, p. 130–131.

According to the testimony of a recent traveller, depopulation and desolation seem to have progressively increased since Burckhardt and Buckingham explored the Haouran and adjoining regions. Mr. Elliot, who passed along its northwestern boundary, states that *Nowa*, the ancient Neve, like *Sanamein*, and several other towns and villages in the road, is a heap of ruins. Es-szanamein (the two idols) was a considerable village, with several ancient buildings and towns, when Burckhardt passed by it.* The surviving ruins indicate the former existence of a large town. "Population seem to have decreased from thousands to hundreds, and from hundreds to decades: what were once cities of considerable magnitude are now wretched villages, and large towns have not a single tenant to perpetuate the memory of their name."† "From Nowa to Feik the road crosses a vast plain destitute of cultivation and inhabitants. Nothing is seen but the ruins of tenantless villages and towns scattered in every direction, with multitudes of hawks and herons occupying the spots deserted by man."‡

In the region over which we have already passed, some proof has been adduced, and some illustration given, that many cities of the land of Israel are *desolate without inhabitant*, and the *houses without man*.

In the lists of Arabic names of places in Palestine and the adjoining regions by Mr. Eli Smith, appended to the third volume of his and Dr. Robinson's Researches, there are the names of one hundred and fifty-six places *in ruins or deserted* in the Haouran and El-Lidjah; eighty-one in Batania or Bashan; eighty-six in Ajlun; and one hundred and twenty-three in the Belkah; or in all, as arranged and named, four hundred and forty-six in the countries east of the Jordan.

Haouran is a land—far more than all others that are, or, perhaps, ever were on earth—of *cities that are forsaken* or deserted, though not ruined, and of *houses* still standing by hundreds, but *without men*. A *picture* of this is undesignedly given in Mr. Buckingham's *Travels among the Arab Tribes*. It is entitled only, *Caravan in the Plains of the Haouran*. It consists of camels as if passing through the desert; but in the back-ground the thick-set cities may be seen, as three or four times the number may sometimes be counted from a single spot. (See Plate.)

* Burckhardt, p. 55. † Elliot's Trav., p. 320, 325. ‡ Ibid., p. 327.

CARAVAN ON THE PLAINS OF THE HAURAN

CASTLE AND PLAIN OF HHOMS OR EMESSA

CHAPTER IX.

NATURAL FERTILITY OF THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE DEAD SEA AND OF THE JORDAN.

To break in a little upon the sad and monotonous description of desolate or deserted cities, it may be well, before passing that river, which was consecrated more by the baptism of Jesus than by the miraculous passage of the Israelites, even though it dared not then to wet the soles of their feet, to look on the country beyond Jordan, in order to see if there be any lingering beauty there, even a faint trace of what the land of Gilead and of Bashan was, or if there be yet any *substance in it* sufficient, as of old, to sustain many of the thousands of Israel.

In vain, in the highest sense, would we look for balm in Gilead or fruit in Bashan, while yet there is no physician there, and while the covenanted and only rightful inheritors of the land are yet wanderers throughout the world, as the inhabitants of their own land are wanderers in *their* patrimonial territories; but, anticipating the time when the Holy One of Israel shall fulfil his word, and bring his people to the land of Gilead and Bashan, and feed them there, and their soul shall there be satisfied, we may interrogate the land by another category than that of Volney, and ask whether, while many cities might be raised from their ruins and others be *repaired to dwell in*, it could repay cultivation now, and yield such fruit to Israel as to merit at last the choice which at first was made of it.

In the sneering language of Voltaire, it might be accounted "a goodly land" by those who had wandered forty years in the wilderness! And were the question now put to kindred scoffers, they might say that any land, however poorly enriched with nature's bounties, might be the welcome asylum of a hapless race, who for many ages have had no land to dwell in as their own, and who have wandered generation after generation without finding a place whereon to rest the sole of their feet.

But it is not thus that our interrogatory is put. Our enemies being judges, we would raise the question whether,

when looked at again, that portion of Israel's inheritance over which we have glanced is not capable of being what the prophetic Scriptures have declared that it shall be—no mean or despicable portion of a "goodly heritage," and "everlasting possession" worthy of being esteemed "the glory of all lands."

In the beginning of the present century, appeals could not be made to existing facts; and Christians held the problem unresolved, if not unresolvable, how a land long reckoned as a desert, and a blank in every *modern* map, could have sustained the multitudinous cities and towns which, according to the historical Scriptures, were once planted there. The *increase of knowledge** has caused the mystery to cease, and to the lack of that alone can it owe its unduly protracted existence. Rather than that the land should have been plenteously tenanted in ancient times, where the most ancient towns assuredly on the face of all the earth are still standing, and have in many instances the seeming freshness of novelty in the tinge which age has given them, the wonder might reasonably arise, how many cities should thus be desolate without man, and how hundreds of houses, that give good promise of lasting for ages, should, in town neighbouring with town, be left *without man*, without possessors, without claimants, without tenants, or any to dwell therein, while wandering herdsmen around them have no better shelter than a tent, while many walls, and gates, and bars in Bashan are as strong as ever, and the palaces, and temples, and castles of Ammon are a stable for camels, and a couching place for flocks.

These facts are not without an assignable reason; for the manner in which God has wrought out his judgments may be seen. The mode in which his promised blessing to Israel shall be accomplished is yet, save as revealed, a mystery to man. But the fact that these lands did sustain such numerous cities is not less clear than that it could still sustain them again, were the tenantless dwellings crowded with inhabitants, and all the cities raised from their foundations, and peopled anew, *without walls because of the multitude of men*, even as the Israelites shall dwell in them on their return.

On the extremity of the Dead Sea, Captains Irby and Mangles, passing by a route previously untrodden by any

* Dan., xii., 4.

modern traveller, except perhaps Seetzen, entered into a very prettily wooded country, with high rushes and marshes; on their advancing farther, the variety of bushes and wild plants became very great, some of the latter being rare and of remarkable appearance, presenting a fine field for the botanist. Among the trees and plants were various species of the acacia, the dwarf mimosa, the doom, the tamarisk, a plant they had seen in Nubia called the oscar, the wild cotton plant, among an infinity of others that they neither knew how to name or describe.* The banks of the River El-Dara, which waters a beautiful shady ravine, were covered in profusion with the palm, acacia, aspen, and oleander in full flower and beauty. As they advanced towards Kerek they found themselves in corn-fields, with cattle grazing in the valley through which the River Souf Safsa runs towards the Dead Sea; the ancient mill-courses are still to be seen, but the river itself was hid by the richness of the vegetation on its banks, especially the purple oleander in full blossom.† In the narrow valley at the foot of the castle hill of Kerek there runs a stream, with a narrow line of gardens on its banks, in which they observed olives, pomegranates, and figs, with some vegetables.‡ Southward of Kerek they ascended into a country of downs, with verdure so close as to appear almost turf, and with corn-fields at intervals. In short, the whole of the plains in this quarter, now so deserted, are capable of rich cultivation.§

Ghoeyr, immediately south of the Dead Sea, is famous for the excellent pasturage produced by its numerous springs, and it has, in consequence, become a favourite place of encampment for all the Bedouins of Djebal and Shera. The borders of the rivulets are overgrown with defle and the shrub rethem. The extensive plain near Kara consists of a fertile soil. The broad valley called El-Bekka is extremely fertile, and is (was) in part cultivated by the people of Szalt and the Arabs of the Belkah. The Bedouins, from the superiority of its pasturage, have this saying, "Thou canst not find a country like the Belkah." The beef and mutton of this district are preferable to those of all others. The herds of cows, sheep, and goats of the Arabs of the Belkah are large, and, wherever they have the prospect of being able to secure the harvest against the in-

* Irby and Mangles' Travels, p. 334, 335.
† Ibid., p. 361.
‡ Ibid., p. 362.
§ Ibid., p. 370.

cursions of enemies, they cultivate patches of the best soil in their territory. The rivulet of Mayn flows through a wood of defle-trees, which form a canopy over the rivulet impenetrable to the meridian sun.* The red flowers of these trees, reflected in the water, gave it the appearance of a bed of roses,† &c.

"From Jerash to Ammon," says Lord Lindsay, "the whole country is one whole pasturage, overspread with the flocks and herds of the Bedouins."‡

The hills that enclose the valley of Azalt are laid out in vine-beds on the eastern side of the town. Farther to the south the valley becomes more fertile, is well wooded, and watered throughout its extent, and capable of sustaining five times the population that (in 1816) inhabited the town and neighbourhood. "On the summit of a hill near Fahaes the wood scenery is beautiful; and the fresh and full foliage of evergreen trees, contrasted with the snowy beds (February) out of which their trunks sprung, was at once new and striking. The ground, covered with a fine red soil, exhibited everywhere traces of former cultivation and great fertility. From Deer-el-Nassara we soon entered a thick forest of large trees, the greatest number of which were evergreens; one of these, the most numerous of the whole, was as tall as English elm, of equal girth to full-grown trees of that kind. A variety of trees and shrubs in great abundance, present every shade of colour and hue, from the palest yellow to the deepest green." On advancing farther, "The country, though bare of wood, presented a great extent of fertile soil lying entirely waste, though it was equal to any of the very best portions of Galilee and Samaria, and capable of producing sustenance for a large population." The plain (of Ammon) was covered with fine green turf, daisies, and a large scarlet flower in great abundance, and the soil was extremely rich. Beyond Ammon lies "a continued tract of fertile soil capable of the highest cultivation."§

The following testimony of Mr. Buckingham concerning that country in general, being highly valuable, is extracted at length. "We had now arrived at a very elevated part of the plain, which had continued fertile throughout the whole of the distance that we had yet come from Ammon

* Burckhardt, p. 362. † Ibid., p. 369.
‡ Lord Lindsay's Travels, vol. ii., p. 110. Buckingham.
§ Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 60–63.

to this place, and were still gradually rising as we proceeded on, when we came to an elevation from which a near view opened before us to the southeast, in the direction in which we were travelling. This view presented to us, on a little lower level, a still more extensive tract of continued plain than that over which we had already passed. Throughout its whole extent were seen ruined towns in every direction, both before, behind, and on every side of us, generally seated on small eminences, all at a short distance from each other, and all, as far as we had yet seen, bearing evident marks of former opulence and consideration. There was not a tree in sight as far as the eye could reach; but my guide, who had been over every part of it, assured me that the whole of the plain was covered with the finest soil, and capable of being made the most productive corn-land in the world. It is true that, for a space of more than thirty miles, there did not appear to me a single interruption of hill, rock, or wood to impede immediate tillage; and it is certain that the great plain of Esdraelon, so justly celebrated for its extent and fertility, is inferior in both to this plain of Belkah, for so the whole country is called, from the mountain of that name, the Pisgah of the Scriptures. Like Esdraelon, it appears also to have been once the seat of an active and numerous population."*

The mountainous ranges on both sides of the Jabbok, which divides Gilead, seem still to vie with each other in beauty.

Before reaching Azalt from the south, Captains Irby and Mangles passed through a richly-wooded and picturesque country. Near to Jerash they entered a very picturesque country, most beautifully varied with hanging woods, mostly of the vallonia oak, laurustinus, cedar, common arbutus, arbutus andrachne, &c.; the latter, in some instances, was nearly *six feet* in circumference. At times the grounds had all the appearance of a noble park: in short, nothing could exceed the beauty of this day's ride: there were some spots cultivated with corn. As we advanced, the wood became more thick, and at dark we stopped at a small open space covered with high grass and weeds. We went out with our guide to a small distance to endeavour to shoot some wild boars, which were said to be very numerous there.†

On first passing the Jordan, opposite to Bisan, they soon

* Buckingham, p. 85, 86. † Irby and Mangles, p. 474, 476, 477.

entered on a small plain very thickly set with herbage, and particularly the mustard plant, reaching as high as the horses' heads. Ascending from hence, they passed through occasional hill and vale well wooded, the country gradually increasing in beauty. Next day they continued their route through the most beautiful woodland scenery, with the gall oak, wild olive, arbutus, &c., &c., in great luxuriance, and a variety of wild flowers, such as the cyclamen, crimson anemone, &c., on a rich soil.

The road from Adjeloun towards Souf led through a narrow and picturesque valley, which opens at the farther end into a plain, where the road passes through a woody, uneven country, extremely beautiful. They observed the arbutus of unusual dimensions and great beauty; one tree was about six feet in circumference, and in some instances the vallonia oak and arbutus andrachne were growing grafted together, probably from the acorn or berry of either having accidentally dropped into some crack in the stem of the other, and taken root! A valley northeast of Souf is very beautifully wooded, having a picturesque stream, its banks covered with the oleander.*

There is such a diversity in the elevation of the plains of Syria, that, while that of the Jordan is remarkably low, others may be appropriately designated a *table land.*

After passing the Jordan, Mr. Buckingham ascended to one plain after another; and on ascending Jebel Azalt, he describes it as "a fine fertile plain, with undulations here and there, a rich green turf, abundance of wood, and pines nodding on the surrounding eminences. From hence he enjoyed a magnificent view, as beautiful in many of its features as it was grand in the whole, and extending in every direction almost as far as the range of vision."†

In describing his journey through the mountains of Gilead, he thus writes: "We had no sooner passed the summit of the second range, going down a short distance on its eastern side by a very gentle descent, than we found ourselves on plains of nearly as high a level as the mountains or the hills themselves, and certainly eight hundred feet, at least, above the stream of the Jordan. The character of the country, too, was quite different from anything that I had seen in Palestine, from my first landing at Soor to the present moment. We were now in a land of extraordinary richness,

* Irby and Mangles, p. 307, 308. † Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 19.

abounding with the most beautiful prospects, clothed with thick forests, varied with verdant slopes, and possessing extensive plains of a fine red soil, now covered with thistles as the best proof of its fertility, and yielding in nothing to the celebrated plains of Zabulon and Esdraelon, in Galilee and Samaria.

"We continued our way to the northeast through a country, the beauty of which so surprised us that we often asked each other what were our sensations, as if to ascertain the reality of what we saw, and persuade each other, by mutual confessions of our delight, that the picture before us was not an optical illusion. The landscape alone, which varied at every turn, and gave us new beauties from every different point of view, was of itself worth all the pains of an excursion to the eastward of Jordan to obtain a sight of; and the park-like scenes that sometimes softened the romantic wildness of the general character as a whole, reminded us of similar spots in less neglected lands."*

The first part of our route (from Souf to Oom-Keis), says Mr. Robinson, "for nearly an hour and a half, lay through a thick forest of very fine oak-trees. Under any other circumstances, nothing could be more agreeable than our ride through it; but it was notorious for giving shelter to ill-disposed persons. The country we passed through this day was of the most beautiful description, being slightly undulated, the crests and sides of the hills clothed with the magnificent oaks, for which this district, the ancient Bashan, is still, as of old, justly celebrated. But for my turbaned companions, and the absence of detached villas, I could frequently have thought myself in Europe. At sunset we arrived at Favur, where we supped in the sheik's house, the inhabitants being all Mussulmen. They seemed ill disposed towards us, were suspicious and disobliging. The place where we passed the night was a large excavated cavern, dark and dirty, and more like a den of thieves than the dwellings of civilized people."†

"The whole of the country," says Lord Linsday, "that we had yet traversed on the east of the Jordan, from the Lake of Tiberias to the Red Sea, and from Oom-Keis to Heshbon, is fertile in the extreme, and the woody scenery of the mountain districts of Belkah and Adjeloun scarcely

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 322.
† Robinson's Travels in Palestine, vol. ii., p. 209, 211.

to be surpassed in beauty. The soil is so generally fertile as to be capable of producing almost everything that is required.

"The wood scenery spoken of in such high terms by Buckingham, Irby and Mangles, &c., began to appear about a quarter of an hour after leaving Naimi; trees, thinly scattered at first, but which soon became numerous; and the road henceforward was extremely pretty, winding over hills, and through vales, and narrow rocky ravines overhung with the valonidi oak, and other beautiful trees of which I knew not the names. Approaching Jerash (Souf lying considerably to the west), the woods had suffered much from fire; the whole mountain side had been burned; the herbage was quite consumed; many trees had perished in the conflagration; some were standing half alive, half dead, while others had quite escaped. Jerash lay before us; after a steep and rocky descent, we reached the bank of a beautiful little stream, thickly shaded by tall oleanders, and, passing through hundreds of sheep and goats watering at it, ascended to the summit of a hill in the midst of the ruins,"* &c.

"Between Aszalt and El-Hussan the scenery is most lovely. From the western extremity of Mount Gilead, in an almost continuous descent to the foot of Gebel Adjeloun, every minute introduces you to some new scene of loveliness. The path wound through thickets of the most luxuriant growth, and of every shade of verdure, frequently overshadowing the road and diffusing a delicious coolness,† &c. Immediately after crossing the Zerka we rested at a large cave formed by overhanging rocks; the river in front of us, and a wild almond-tree near its mouth, which supplied us with a welcome addition to some raisins, the best we ever tasted, that we had procured at Aszalt. It was oppressively hot in this ravine, but delightfully cool again as we ascended Gebel Adjeloun, through scenery of more grandeur than that of Mount Gilead, and to the full as beautiful. After three quarters of an hour of steep ascent, the valonidis reappeared on both sides of a very beautiful ravine, running up into the mountains—not valonidis only, but it was clothed to the very summit with prickly oaks and olive-trees, tufted among the crags —superb oleanders blossoming in the dry bed of a torrent, alongside of the road. Views more and more magnificent, towards Mount Gilead, opened upon us the higher we as-

* Lord Linsday's Travels, vol. ii., p. 102.
† Ibid., p. 122, 123.

cended; corn-fields ready for the sickle revealed the vicinity of a town—Bounna, to wit—which we reached after an hour and twenty minutes' ascent; the olives ceased a little beyond it, but arbutuses, firs, ash, prickly oaks, and a species of the valonidi with a larger leaf than the usual sort (perhaps the oak of Bashan), succeeded. After two hours and a half we reached a beautiful broad terrace of about twenty minutes in length, and partly covered with corn, just below the highest point of Gebel Adjeloun, towering up most majestically on the left, its noble crags almost hidden among beautiful trees. From the termination of this plain or terrace, we descended, in half an hour, to Zebeen, through noble fir-trees, far finer than those of Mount Gilead. The beauty of the descent surpassed, if possible, that of the ascent, and the northward view was most splendid. But a painter only could give an idea of these scenes of beauty and grandeur.*

"Our next day's route was through very lovely, but quieter scenery, valleys full of olives, corn-fields reclaimed from the forest, and villages. At the bottom of the hill below Zebeen we crossed the brook Napalin, shaded by beautiful oleanders. A beautiful narrow glen afterward ushered us into a broad valley, richly wooded to the summits of the hills with noble prickly oaks, a few pine-trees towering over them. I saw an occasional *degub*-tree or arbutus, but the prevailing trees were oaks, prickly and broad leaved: it was forest scenery of the noblest character—next to that of old England, with which none that I ever saw can stand comparison. On our journey to Jerash by a different route from that of Irby and Mangles, Banks, and Buckingham, we wondered at the encomiums lavished by those gentlemen on the woodland scenery of these regions; we now thought that enough had scarcely been said in their praise."†

Jebel Adjeloun, extending from the Zerka to the Yarmuk, is described by Mr. Eli Smith as presenting "the most charming rural scenery that he had seen in Syria. A continued forest of noble trees, chiefly of the evergreen oak, covers a large part of it; while the ground beneath is clothed with luxuriant grass, which we found a foot or more in height, and decked with a rich variety of wild flowers."‡

These direct, explicit, and uniformly accordant testimonies give proof that, notwithstanding all the desolation that

* Lord Lindsay, p. 125–127.
† Ibid., p. 128, 129.
‡ Smith and Robinson, Appendix, vol. iii., p. 162.

has come on an almost dispeopled land, the natural fertility of the Belkah is yet unimpaired. Its peculiar excellence as a pastoral country is yet as distinguished as ever. It retains every capability of being what it was when the Israelites first entered it; and though the ignorant and idle Arabs leave cisterns, anciently excavated with great labour from the rock, useless and dry, rather than expend a light and momentary effort in clearing away the rubbish merely to let the water flow into them, so richly has Nature endowed the land, that even the Bedouins, making its excellence their boast, can appreciate the land they do nothing to improve; and every traveller now sees it to be, what the children of Reuben and Gad pronounced it at first, "the land is a land for cattle."

Beauty still lingers in Gilead, as if in its own dwelling-place, from which it will not depart. Like many other portions of the land of Israel, *the wild boar out of the forest doth devour it.* Like as in other mountains of Israel, the prowling robber has caused the wayfaring man to cease, so that for preceding ages *none have passed through them;* and the fear of the wild tenants of the forest, whether men or beasts, is an alloy to the pleasure which the native loveliness of the land imparts to the passing visitant. Where ruined cities retain many a sign of ancient luxury, which made art the handmaid of pleasure and of ease, the weary traveller rests not now beneath a vaulted canopy in a pillared mansion, but, from necessity, betakes himself for a night's repose to an excavated cave, more like to "a den of thieves than to a dwelling of civilized men."

The plain of the Haouran, as described by Mr. Eli Smith, has a gentle undulating surface, is arable throughout, and, in general, very fertile. With the rest of the Haouran, it is the granary of Damascus. The soil belongs to government, and nothing but grain is cultivated. Hardly a tree appears anywhere.*

In many parts of the Haouran, says Burckhardt, I saw the most luxuriant wild herbage, through which my horse with difficulty made his way. Artificial meadows can hardly be finer than these desert fields; and it is this which renders the Haouran so favourite an abode of the Bedouins. The peasants of Syria are ignorant of the advantages of

* Smith and Robinson's Palestine, Appendix, vol. iii., p. 150.

feeding their cattle with hay: they suffer their superfluous grass to wither away.*

"The peasants of the Haouran are extremely shy," says the same inquisitive and intelligent traveller, "in speaking of the produce of their land, from an apprehension that the stranger's inquiries may lead to new extortions. I have reason to believe, however, that in middling years wheat yields twenty-five fold; in some parts of the Haouran, this year, the barley has yielded fifty-fold, and even in some instances eighty. A sheik, who formerly inhabited the small village of Boreika, on the southern borders of the Ledja, assured me, that from twenty mouds of wheat-seed he once obtained thirty gaharas, or one hundred and twenty fold. Fields watered by rain yield more in proportion to the seed sown than those that are artificially watered; this is owing to the seed being sown thinner in the former. The Haouran crops are sometimes destroyed by mice, though not so frequently as in the neighbourhood of Homs and Hamath. Where abundance of water may be conducted into the field from neighbouring springs, the soil is again sown, after the grain harvest, with vegetables, lentiles, pease, sesamums,"† &c.

The last remark may be kept in the reader's view as giving some indication how, in peaceful times, of which knowledge shall be the stability, the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed,‡ &c.; but in the present unsettled, oppressive, and marauding times, the change accomplished in a single spot in a year or two may supply some token of the universal and simultaneous transformation which the now desolate scene is destined to undergo.

"When I passed this place (El Merdjan) in 1810," says Burckhardt, "I found a single Christian family in it; I now found eight or ten families, &c. They had brought the fertile soil round El Merdjan into cultivation, and had this year sown eight gaharas of wheat and barley, or about a hundred and twenty-eight cwt. English. The taxes paid by the village amounted to a thousand piasters, or £50 sterling, besides the tribute extorted by the Bedouins."§

This short extract at once shows how speedily the land may be cultivated anew, and how speedily also a grinding

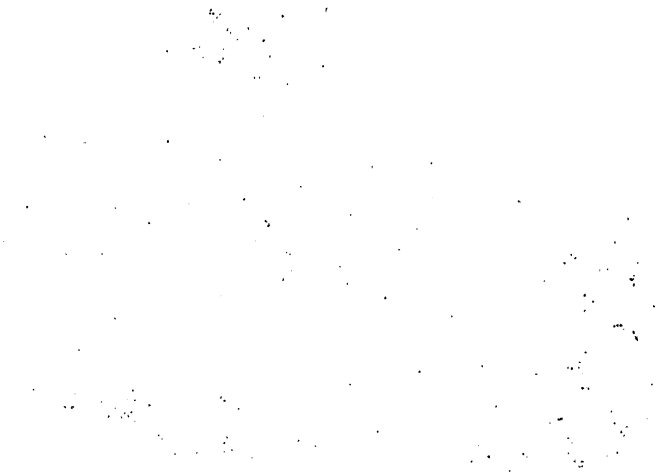
* Burckhardt, p. 246.
† Ibid., p. 294, 297.
‡ Amos, ix., 13.
§ Burckhardt, p. 213.

oppression may renew its desolation. Merdjan had indeed, when inhabited by a single family, "escaped the rapacious hands of the Arabs," and "was picturesquely situated on a gentle declivity near the foot of a mountain, and was surrounded by orchards and poplar-trees.* But as soon as ever any portion of the land was cultivated, it escaped no longer the extortions of the Arabs, and was subjected, besides, to a tax of at least £5 for each family; and the bounties of Nature could not long survive the rapacity of man.

The immediate causes of the desolation of so fertile a country as the Haouran, and of the depopulation or desertion of its indestructible cities, are too apparent to escape the notice of the observant traveller. The following remarks of Mr. Burckhardt, forced on his notice, expound the seeming mystery: "The oppressions of the government on one side, and those of the Bedouins on the other, have reduced the Fellah of the Haouran to a state little better than that of the wandering Arab. Few individuals, either among the Druses or Christians, die in the same village in which they were born. Families are continually removing from one place to another: in the first year of their new settlement the sheik acts with moderation towards them; but his vexations becoming in a few years insupportable, they fly to some other place where they have heard that their brethren are better treated, but they soon find that the same system prevails over the whole country. Sometimes it is not merely the pecuniary extortion, but the personal enmity of the sheik, or of some of the head men of the village, which drives a family from their home, for they are always permitted to depart. This continued wandering is one of the principal reasons why no village in the Haouran has either orchards, or fruit-trees, or gardens for the growth of vegetables. 'Shall we sow for strangers?' was the answer of a Fellah, to whom I once spoke on the subject, and who, by the word strangers, meant both the succeeding inhabitants and the Arabs who visit the Haouran in the spring and summer."†

It is thus, according to the prophetic word, that Bashan, like Carmel, has shaken off, and still shakes off, its fruits.‡ It is thus also, as the Lord hath said, that the inhabitants of the land of Israel, as in manifold similar illustrations besides, eat their bread with carefulness; and the land is

* Burckhardt, p. 110. † Ibid., p. 299. ‡ Isaiah, xxxiii., 9. Ezek., xii., 19.



SCENE IN THE MOUNTAINS EAST OF THE HAURAN

PASSAGE OF THE RIVER ZERKAH IN BASHAN

desolate from all that was therein, because of the violence of all them that dwelt therein.

According to the late testimony of Mr. Eli Smith, the same causes continue in direful operation. "Respecting the whole of the Haouran, it is nessessary to observe, that the inhabitants so often move from village to village, that the fact of a village having been inhabited when we were there is no evidence that it is so at the present time."*

While there are thus obvious causes of the existing desolation, such as would reduce into similar waste any region, however fertile naturally, the traveller cannot but contemplate what the Haouran has been. While he looks at the richness of the soil, as well as the remains of the cities, so these give manifest proof what the Haouran yet may be under another government than that of Rome.

"The soil of the great plain of the Haouran consists of a fine black earth, of great depth, but apparently, at the present day, very little cultivated. It must have been an agreeable and imposing prospect indeed, to those who looked down upon its rich productions, at the time the whole was brought under culture by the numerous and industrious Roman colonies that once inhabited these territories—its golden crops bending submissively under the breezes that crossed its surface, like the smooth undulations of the wide ocean, and, like it, having no other boundary than the horizon itself."

Beyond the wide-extended plains of the Haouran lies another Gilead, and again beyond it another Haouran, if not also a third, divided from each other by a mountainous range. Numerous wadys descend from both sides of Djebel Haouran into the adjacent plains. The mountain is in many places covered with oaks. In all their villages there, as well as in the deep valley of Essoueida, the Druses grow a great deal of cotton, and the cultivation of tobacco is general over all the mountain. The soil of the uncultivated district which skirts its eastern side is of a red colour, and appears to be very fertile; it is said to excel even that of the darker soil of the Haouran. The very name of "the great desert" east of Zaele, Telloul, from its tels or hillocks, bespeaks its ancient populousness.† The ruins of the many cities and villages with which it is covered in every direction; the good arable soil which it still retains for the distance of three

* Robinson and Smith's Palestine, Appendix, vol. iii., p. 150.
† Burckhardt, p. 77, 94, 105.

days' journey eastward; and the fact, stated by Burckhardt, that water is easily found on digging to the depth of three or four feet, all tend to show that, desolate as it has become, according to His word, the Lord of the whole earth, as the God of Israel shall be called, hath formed it, as if in designed preparation for the final illustration, which it is yet destined to supply, of the fulness of his bounty and the faithfulness of his Word, when, even as literally as judgments have fallen on its desolate plains and ruined and deserted cities, the desert, renouncing at last that name forever, shall blossom as the rose, and the little hills of Telloul shall rejoice on every side.

It is full time to adduce the promises of the Lord when speculation is begun as to what that land shall be, and as to whom it shall belong as possessors.

At Gheryeh (Kereye), itself a deserted town of five hundred houses, without an inhabitant, situated on the eastern border of the Haouran, Mr. Buckingham, looking from west to east, has the following striking reflections on the land all around. Indebted as the author has already been to his interesting works, he cannot here forbear from largely renewing the obligation.

"The hills seen by us from hence on our right, forming this eastern border, were now covered with snow; and beyond these, again, was another great plain, on a higher level to the eastward, said to be in all respects equal to that of the Haouran in the fertility of its soil, and the abundant remains of a numerous population. It is really humiliating to see so fine a country in the possession of so barbarous a government as that of the Turks, and abandoned, as it were, to sterility and desolation. On the mountains and plains of these districts of Belkah, Adjeloun, and Haouran, extending from the Dead Sea to the sources of the Jordan north, and from the banks of that river to the extreme limits of that cultivable land on the east, there would be room for a million of human beings to form a new colony; and so far from doing injury to their surrounding neighbours, they would enrich every country that was on their borders, and form a centre from which industry, art, science, and morals might extend their influence, and irradiate regions now the prey of ignorance, rapine, and devastation. If the ruler of Turkey knew his interest well, he would imitate the conduct of Shah Abbas the Great of Persia, who brought a colony of Arme-

nians from Julfa, and planted them near Ispahan, where they enriched themselves, and did incalculable benefit to the Persians also, until they were persecuted by a succeeding government who pursued a different policy. No part of the Turkish dominions could probably be selected, with less risk of interfering with the property and rights of others, or with more certainty of success, than these districts which I have enumerated, where the colonists would find a fertile soil, and springs of water capable of being led in any direction for irrigation; towns and houses built ready for their occupation; a delicious climate, and a wide extent of country on all sides, for the consumption of their cattle, grain, and even manufactures. These impressions were forcibly obtruded on my mind at different periods of my journey, but never more strongly than here, upon the borders of the great eastern and western plains; but, however ardently I might indulge the desire to see a step so favourable to progressive improvement suggested, I had seen too much of Turkish apathy and ignorance to hope for the period in which such a dream of happiness would ever be realized, in my day at least."*

Of the period in which better things than those here surmised shall come to pass, this is not specially the place to speak: of that, more hereafter. The degree of desolation, it may at least be said, proves not that the time of renovation is distant, but rather that it is near.

That man were not a lover of his race who could look on cities without inhabitants, and houses without man, and on fertile plains so wide as seeming to be bounded only by the horizon, and so rich that a wretched agriculture could count on a twenty-five fold produce and a double harvest, without an ardent wish that the cities should be peopled, and the land be cultivated, and be filled with virtuous, peaceful, and happy men. Such hopes might be blasted by the sight not only of the apathy and ignorance of the Turks, but of all that is now seen in the land, where the moral debasement is akin to the physical; so that the resuscitation of the Haouran and its kindred territories, judging from sight, might well seem to be a dream.

The ruler of Turkey—the wo-bearing mission of whose race was not the renovation of any land, but the destruction of many—has neither the wisdom nor the power to give

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 227-229.

new life to any portion of his expiring empire; but were he to transplant, if he could, another alien race to these once teeming regions, what fate could await them but that of all the uncircumcised or uncovenanted races, whether in ancient or in more modern times, who have heretofore occupied the land. The Grand Turk has shrunk into a little man, and seems for the completion of his destiny to have little more to do than to pass through a last and dying struggle. Alone in all the earth there are towns in his dominions, chiefly in this region, without men to fill them. The prophetic symbol of his empire bears its legible interpretation now. *The Euphrates is drying up*, that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared; and the very inability of the sultan to preserve or retain his dominions, is an argument, deducing its conclusiveness, as its origin, from Scripture, that that time draweth nigh.

The believer, looking with the eye of faith, can survey "the great desert," which lies within the patrimony of Abraham's seed, as the covenanted gift of Abraham's God, and, anticipating in sure hope the glorious day of Israel's redemption and final restoration, can see nothing but beauty without a trace of desolation there, where, looked on as it is, nothing else can be seen. The happiness shall then be such that it shall indeed seem like a dream. "When the Lord turneth again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing: then said they among the heathen, the Lord hath done great things for them. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams of the south."* That word which has turned defenced cities into ruinous heaps, has power, when varied from a curse to a blessing, to restore the cities to dwell in, and to transform the wilderness into a fruitful field.

The cities and the lands of Gilead and Bashan, as well as those of Moab and Ammon, were long hid from the world, till in these latter days they rise into view, not only showing that every word of God that had gone forth against them is at last perfect work, but witnessing too, as their testimony may now be heard, that they are all nearly, if not altogether, ready for the accomplishment of other predictions. Had they been known in past centu-

* Psalm cxxvi., 1–5.

ries as in the present day, before the judgments had come upon them to the uttermost, men might have sought to qualify a prophecy if not wholly accomplished; or even, as was the practice in earlier ages, they might have renounced the literal interpretation, and wrested the Scriptures into some imaginary significancy, while the time was not come for the word itself to *speak*, or for the very things to be seen which the prophets had declared. And even if these cities and regions had been opened to European research long after the days of Abulfeda, much testimony would have been wanting then which is most abundant now, and men would either not have known the sign which the Lord had set up to mark the time when Israel's blindness should speedily cease, or else they might have looked on the prospective abandonment and desertion of so many cities of the land as a dream never to be realized, or only to be thought of as a reality when a new age of wonders should arise.

When they shall see these things, they shall know that I am the Lord. When the time was come that the predicted desolations were complete, or in the course of rapid completion, these things were seen; the whole scene was disclosed to view; and *many ran to and fro*, where none before had travelled. In this, as in numberless instances besides, *knowledge was increased.* Facts were brought to light by which the verity of God's word was seen. Cities and plains, mountains and valleys, vied with each other in declaring it. Babylon, whose site was scarcely known, vied with Petra, which had been sought for in vain; and Chaldea with Edom, and Ammon with Moab. Palestine showed itself full of judgments as it once was of mercies; the land of Israel's ancient possession was studded with testimonies; and the completion of manifold judgments showed that the cup of the Lord's wrath had gone round among all the nations to whom by name He sent it.

But the completion of one series of prophetic judgments, true to the very letter, prepares the way for the completion of another series of a different order. There is not only a growing evidence, or, as Bacon calls it, a germinating fulfilment of prophecy, but that germinating process may be even seen. While some have borne their ripened fruit, others may be looked on in the bud. As in the land of Israel, the gathering of the harvest may be the preparation for the sower; so the judgments that have come upon the land,

though others yet intervene, prepare the way for the blessings that are to follow after. Cities there are without inhabitants and without claimants; houses there are, numbered by hundreds in single localities, *without man*, open to any casual visitants that may choose to enter them. Over a large portion of Israel's inheritance, the rights of property in houses or in lands are altogether unknown; the right of possession is never challenged, and need not be contested where there are empty dwellings ready for occupation, and fertile plains that cry in vain for cultivators. The *wandering* Arabs *cause the inhabitants to wander*. The government, to whom alone all property in the land belongs, has no power to protect it; and the cities and the land, with none that can keep the one or cultivate the other, are without possessors, as if they pertained to a people that are no longer there. All other bonds are broken, all other claims disannulled, but that of Israel's everlasting covenant. The time is come when there is room for a million of human beings to form a new colony in the country beyond Jordan which was formerly partitioned among two tribes and a half of Israel; and while the wandering tribes that traverse the land, and move incessantly from place to place, as if sojourners in a land that is not theirs, and dwelling in tents amid cities in which no man dwells, the wanderers throughout the world who can call no other region theirs, are numbered by millions, and one of the fondest schemes of the Jewish mind, not without recent attempts to realize it, is that of colonizing the land of their fathers.

This extensive region beyond Jordan, newly restored to the notice of the world, begins to be appreciated, and signs there are that the time may not be distant that it shall also be appropriated by the people to whom the Lord had given it. Who that can relish the beauties of nature, or value its bounties, could look on the lovely mountains of Gilead, and the rich plains of the Haouran, even though they did not bear a single consecrated name, without a wish that the blessedness of such lands bore some similitude to their fertility and beauty? And who that has the faith of Abraham, and mourns over the miseries of his expatriated race, does not wistfully look for the time when the captivity of Israel shall be brought back; when Dan, ere his own allotment be fixed in another portion of the land as rich and lovely, shall leap from Bashan, and Benjamin shall possess Gilead?

These lands retain such inherent richness and such natural beauty still undefaced by man, that they are worthy of being claimed by the Lord of the whole earth as his own. And God hath spoken in his holiness, "Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine."* He has reserved them still for his people Israel, notwithstanding their past unfaithfulness in his covenant; and although He has turned human instrumentality to the execution of his judgments, he has so wrought out his purposes, and still kept his covenant in view, that of all lands these are the most inviting for a colony, and the most free for immediate occupancy; so that, as is stated, a million of men might take possession of them at once, not to the detriment, but to the gain of all the regions around. Where or when, with even the semblance of truth, could this be said of any other country? or what land besides, throughout all the earth, holds forth to myriads of immediate settlers such temptations of unappropriated lands, of unoccupied cities, of empty but habitable houses, of numberless fountains, of rich and beauteous mountains, and of fertile plains covered with luxuriant pasturage ready for immediate tillage? The hand of the Lord God of Israel is assuredly in all this. It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and, showing forth his faithfulness, it is a token, could any be needed, that He loves Israel still, and has his people in remembrance, and will not suffer his promises to fail. Who is the Lord but our God? Hath He said, and shall He not do it? Has He not, according to his Word, made this whole land what it is, whether as respects the cities and houses that have cast out their inhabitants, and the men to whom He has not given them in possession, or the uncultivated plains which have passed under his sentence of desolation, and yet retain their *substance?* And as surely as Gilead is the Lord's and Manasseh is His, has He not reserved them, and made them ready, whenever the people of his covenant shall be turned to him again, for the accomplishment of his Word which we delight to repeat, "I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon Mount Ephraim and Gilead."† "Let them feed in Bashan and Gilead as in the days of old. According to the days of thy coming out of the land of Egypt will I show unto him marvellous things. He will turn again, He will have com-

* Psalm lx., 7. † Jer., l., 19.

passion upon us. Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old."* It has been said that these lands may suffice for the occupancy of a million of men. Israel is still numbered by millions, but the tribes of Israel shall not always bear the name of *outcast*, and many shall yet be added to those that are now known. Gilead alone, even with all its surrounding regions, is not a land too rich or large for the thousands of Israel that shall yet be assembled there; for saith the Lord, "I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon, and place shall not be found for them."†

CHAPTER X.

RUINS OF CITIES IN JUDEA, ETC.

THERE is a contrast strikingly reversed, as drawn by Josephus and every modern traveller, between the region on the west and the east of the Jordan. Prior to the Jewish war, which terminated in the destruction of Jerusalem, the region beyond the Jordan was partly desert, and was esteemed less fertile than Judea; while the latter country was universally cultivated and full of cities, and while Samaria and Judea were not only everywhere clothed with fruitful trees, but were also so exceedingly populous, that two provincial towns in the plain of Judah could send forth thirty thousand armed men. But, while some portion of the ancient glory of Gilead still lingers there, that of Judea has departed, its mountains are desolate, and its cities have fallen, though not, like those of Edom, forever.

The prophetic Scriptures could in two words characterize for many ages the separate fate of all the tribes in distinguishing the *dispersed* of Judah from the *outcasts* of Israel. In like manner, while the cities of Israel beyond the Jordan have been either ruined or deserted, many of them being dispeopled though not destroyed, the word of the prophet now teaches us, in passing the Jordan, to look for the *decayed* places of Judah. This one word thus sets them before the reader as they are. Among them we are not to

* Micah, vii., 14, 15, 19, 20. † Zech., x., 10.

look for "indestructible towns;" nor do they, in this respect, show us anew cities still existing, though without inhabitant, or houses still standing, though without man. Judea has been the scene of sieges and of contests which have laid most of its cities even with the ground; and it has not, therefore, such conspicuous ruins, and such forsaken, though not fallen cities, as those with which the Haouran is covered, unlike to any other land on earth. But deserted villages and ancient towns utterly abandoned, the region on the west of Jordan can also show; and built up again as its cities shall be, we may warrantably look there also, as throughout all the land, for the ready materials of a speedy reconstruction, and see if over that land too there be, as in the ruined towns beyond the Jordan, hewn stones in abundance where cities stood, waiting for the time when the hands of strangers *shall build* up the walls that there have fallen, and when it shall be said to the *cities of Judah, Behold your King*.

A more summary view may here suffice, as *decayed* cities have less to tell.

Jesus preached the Gospel from city to city throughout the lands of Galilee and Judea. He sent forth his apostles and seventy disciples to declare throughout them all that the kingdom of God was come nigh unto them. They preached in vain. But not in vain did they shake off the dust of their feet as a testimony against them. Not Chorazin and Bethsaida alone, but many others besides, sharing in the sin of not believing in Jesus, have shared the same fate. Though they were exalted unto heaven, and rivalled each other in their greatness, and the boast could be made of them that they were excelled by none, yet their pride, their impenitence, and unbelief, have brought them down to hell, to death, or to the grave; and they exist not now even as uninhabited cities, but lie as low in their ruin as they were exalted in their pride.

Immediately before judgment came upon them after the crucifixion of Jesus, the country beyond Jordan was marked by its inferiority to that on its western side. Now the contrast is reversed; and marking this apparently strange diversity or reversal of the relative richness now, it may not be meet, while in the midst of a land that everywhere bears marks of moral retribution, to overlook the fact, that when Jesus, shortly before his crucifixion, went beyond Jordan,

when in Jewry they sought to kill him, many believed on him there, while the cities of Judah rejected him, and he was crucified beyond the walls of Jerusalem. Gilead, though blighted, is still glorious in its beauty, while the mountains, and plains, and cities of Judah, like the places around Jerusalem, are utterly waste, and the very land that would not hear the messenger of the Lord, but slew the Lord of glory, has been smitten with a heavy curse.

The ruined cities of the Haouran cannot be passed unseen; and even when, like Kanouat, they are hid by trees or fallen minarets, columns or towers tell where they lie. But razed *from their foundations* (funditus eversi) as the fortresses, towns, and villages of the Jews were, on their final extirpation from Judea by the Emperor Adrian, *the briers, and thorns*, and thistles, and rank weeds that *have come upon the land*, suffice to obliterate the vestiges of cities which lack the memorial of a solitary wall. Ruinous heaps overgrown with herbage are often undistinguishable from the ground; and while the traveller from a far land looks in vain all around for the fragment of a ruin as the vestige of a city, where they once were as numerous as on the other side of the Jordan, some broken ground, far rougher than the rest, may fix his wandering eye on a place of safety for his horse's hoofs, and the sight may teach him that he looked not low enough, and that cities of Judah are still trodden down of the Gentiles, and seldom meet the view, except where the ruins of churches indicate a later judgment.

About thirty miles directly south of Gaza, as discovered and described by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith, the ruins of *Abdeh* are doubtless the remains of *Eboda*, simply mentioned by Ptolemy. The ruins of some walls, once enclosures of fields and gardens, and of others built across the watercourse, to regulate the once fertilizing stream; the ruins of a square tower of hewn stone; the foundations of houses; and many hewn stones and fragments of pottery strewn around, at the distance of half a mile from the chief ruins and near to an excavated quarry, forming a deep cavern supported by pillars, the resort of multitudes of pigeons, are now the approaches to the ruined *Eboda*. The southern base and slope of the hill on which the city stood were covered with the ruins of buildings of hewn stone. The principal ruins on the top of the hill are those of a Greek church and fortress, the latter having proved unable to save an

idolatrous temple or itself from destruction. The church is about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and of proportional breadth. The walls are still in great part standing, built of hewn stone, apparently from the neighbouring quarry, and of good workmanship. The arched recess, or place of the altar, was yet visible, with a similar recess on each side, quite entire. In the western part was a side chapel, with two or three smaller rooms. The space within the walls was strewn with broken columns and entablatures. The castle or fortress, built of hewn stone, was more than four hundred feet in length, had a fine arched portal, a very deep cistern and well about one hundred feet deep, sixty of which were sunk in the solid rock, while the top, for about forty feet, is walled up with hewn stones in an uncommonly good style of masonry. On the opposite side of the town are also ruins of buildings and walls of fields.* "The race," says Dr. Robinson, "that dwelt here have perished, and their works now look abroad in loneliness and silence over the mighty waste." But they shall not so look forever.

The ruins of *Ruhaibeh*, of which the ancient name is unknown, and of *Elusa*, mentioned by Ptolemy, lie in a line between *Eboda* and *Beersheba*. The former, which the same travellers "stumbled on by accident,"† consists of confused heaps of stones, which entirely and thickly cover a level track of ten or twelve acres in extent, one large mass of stones appears to be the remains of a church, from the broken columns and fragments strewed around. Once, as they judged upon the spot, this must have been a city of not less than 12,000 or 15,000 inhabitants; now it is a perfect field of ruins, a scene of unutterable desolation. The ruins of *Elusa*, which was once an episcopal city, cover a somewhat larger space, with room enough for a population of 15,000 or 20,000 souls.‡ The city is more decayed than that of *Ruhaibeh*. At *Beersheba*, the low hills north of the wells are covered with ruins of former habitations spread over a space half a mile in length.§

At the village of Dhoheriyeh, itself being in ruins, and an assemblage of stone hovels, the remains of a square tower denote the site of a castle or fortress, "that would seem to have been one of the small fortresses which once apparently existed all along the southern border of Palestine."‖

* Smith and Robinson, vol. i., p. 285–287.
† Ibid., p. 290.
‡ Ibid., p. 297.
§ Ibid., p. 301.
‖ Ibid., p. 311.

The ruins of *Kurmul*, Carmel of Judah, lie around the head and along the two sides of a valley of some width and depth. The main ruins consist chiefly of the foundations and broken walls of dwellings and other edifices scattered in every direction, and thrown together in mournful confusion and desolation. The castle is still a remarkable ruin, its walls nearly ten feet thick, the stones bevelled, and, though the upper arch is gone, the remaining height is about thirty feet. Near it are the foundations of a round tower and of a small church. The remains of a large church stand apart from other ruins; the whole length of the foundations is 156 feet, the building having consisted apparently of two parts. At about the distance of half a mile are the ruins of another large church.*

The ruins of *Tekoa*, on the top of a hill, consist chiefly of the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are bevelled, the ruins of a Greek church, and of a large castle. On another summit near them, as seen by Pococke, were the ruins of a large church, dedicated, as he states, to St. Pantalione.† They cover a considerable extent.‡

The ruins of *Beit-Jibrin*, also first discovered and described by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith, and identified by them with the ancient Eleutheropolis, consist of the remains of a fortress of immense strength, in the midst of an irregular rounded enclosure, encompassed by a very ancient and strong wall, formed of large squared stones uncemented, along which is a row of ancient massive vaults, with five rounded arches. These are now covered by the accumulated rubbish, yet some of them still serve as dwellings for the inhabitants. The northern wall of this exterior enclosure, representing the diameter from east to west, measured 600 feet, and the other diameter cannot be much less. It is doubtless of Roman origin. In the midst of this area stands an irregular castle. The gate was shut up, and the court within, where not covered with stone and rubbish, was planted with tobacco. The interior of the castle was full of arches and vaults; and the people told us of a church with pictures in the southern part, now shut up, and, indeed, buried beneath the ruins. The area of the enclosure outside of the castle is partly occupied by the materials of an-

* Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 196–198.
† Ibid., p. 192. Pococke, p. 41. ‡ Irby and Mangles, p. 341.

cient walls and structures. The ancient town appears to have extended for some distance along the open valley towards the northeast. About a mile from the village are the ruins of an ancient church, bearing the name of St. Ann. Of the church only the eastern end is standing, including the niches of the great altar and that of a side chapel, built of large stones of strong and beautiful masonry.* "The ruins," says Dr. Robinson, "are sufficiently important to warrant the conclusion that they are those of Eleutheropolis —ruins worthy of the Roman name and of a powerful city."†

Ramlah in better days must have been three or four miles in circumference. "Great ruins of houses," which a century ago were conspicuous remnants of a considerable town, are less noticeable now; and a Greek church, then used as a mosque, is now a "beautiful ruin." A tower standing in the midst of a large quadrangular enclosure is ascended by a flight of one hundred and twenty-five stone steps,‡ but has failed to defend the monastery to which it was attached.

The celebrated church of St. George at *Ludd* is still a noble ruin. The edifice was of hewn stone both within and without, and of excellent masonry. The stones in the modern buildings of the poor villages show that it had been a place of some consequence.§

The region eastward of Gaza is called the country of Hasy, and is filled with deserted sites and ruined villages, not one of them being inhabited.‖ West of Hebron, many of the hills are marked by ruins, showing that this tract of country was once thickly inhabited.¶ In the hill-country of Judea, on the way from Jerusalem to Gaza, most of the villages are deserted or in ruins. The country is full of the sites of ruins and villages, some inhabited and some deserted, at least for portions of the year.**

Ram, the ancient Ramah of Benjamin, is a miserable village with few houses, and these now in summer mostly deserted. There are here large squared stones, and also columns scattered about the fields, indicating an ancient place of some importance.††

The houses of the village of *El Jib* seemed to be chiefly rooms in old massive ruins, which have fallen down in every direction. One large massive building still remains,

* Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 355–357.
‡ Pococke, p. 4. Mr. Robinson, vol. i., p. 29.
‖ Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 385.
** Ibid., vol. ii., p. 338, 339.
† Ibid., p. 359.
§ Pococke, p. 4.
¶ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 6.
†† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 315.

perhaps a former castle or tower of strength. The lower rooms are vaulted with round arches of hewn stone, fitted together with great exactness. The stones outside are large, and the whole appearance is that of antiquity.* A fine fountain of water, in a cave excavated from the base of a high rock, forms a large subterranean reservoir; and not far below it are the remains of another, about 100 feet in length by 100 in breadth, both awaiting their time to quench the thirst of Israelites again, when they shall turn from the broken cistern of their own righteousness, that can hold no water, to the fountain of living waters—the righteousness, like their father Abraham's, that is of faith.

When the Lord discomfited the five kings of the Ammonites before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, the Israelites chased them along the way that goeth to *Bethhoron*.† In a later age, both the cities of that name were numbered with Tadmor and Baalath, among those which Solomon built. He built Bethhoron the upper and Bethhoron the nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars.‡ At Beit-Urel-Tahta (the lower), the foundations of large stones indicate an ancient site; and at Beit-Urel-Foka (the upper), situated on an eminence on the very brow of the mountain, the small village exhibited traces of ancient walls and foundations. "There can be no question," says Dr. Robinson, "that they indicate the upper and nether Bethhoron;"§ and though once fenced cities, with their walls, gates, and bars, they rank now with those which shall be raised up from their foundations.

Samaria lay between Judea and Galilee, and was the chief seat of the tribes of Israel. Prophecy, as the writer has elsewhere shown, detailed its history as now it may be read, and marked all its features as they are still to be seen, and disposed of all its *stones*, whether they be cast down into the bottom of the valley, or gathered into *heaps* on the summit of the hill. Its *foundations* have been *discovered*, but they shall not be forever bare. *The Lord shall bring again the captivity of Samaria, and she and her daughters shall return to their former estate.*‖ Jesus came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and his disciples entered not into the *cities of the Samaritans*, who, though dwelling in them, were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel. But

* Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 136. † Josh., x., 10. ‡ 2 Chron., viii., 5.
§ Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 59, 60. ‖ Ezek., xvi., 53, 55.

the voice of the Lord shall be heard and obeyed. *Turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities.** Though hid from view and searched for in vain, this word has power to evoke them all from their ruins. Napolous, the ancient Sichar, whose inhabitants came out to see and to hear Jesus, and many of whom believed on him, and near to which, anciently Shechem, Abraham first pitched his tent in the land of Canaan, is the only surviving city standing between Ebal and Gerizzim—the mountains from which the curses and the blessings were respectively pronounced—as if it still waited, having seen, as it heard, the former, to see finally, also, the full realization of the latter, and the completion of the covenant which God made with Abraham.

The ruins of *Scythopolis* (Bysan, Bethsan) "are of considerable extent; and the town, built along the banks of a rivulet, and in the villages formed by its several branches, must have been nearly three miles in circuit."† But some trace has been left of the luxury of which that archiepiscopal city was the scene. The theatre is still distinct; and in it alone, throughout their extensive travels, Captains Irby and Mangles saw those oval recesses for brass sounding tubes, mentioned by Vitruvius, which even in his day very few theatres contained. The scene is now changed, and the sounds are different. In one of the dormitories they found twenty-four sculls and other bones; and in one of the sculls a viper was basking, with his body twisted between the eyes, presenting a good subject for the moralizer.‡ In regard to the human occupants of "the principal city of the Decapolis," "Bysan," says Dr. Richardson, "is just what a nest of ruffians might be expected to be, a collection of the most miserable hovels, containing about 200 inhabitants—the veriest miscreants of that miscreant quarter of the world. I never in my life saw the human countenance so bedevilled as in the fiend-like looks of the inhabitants of Bysan."§ Such now are its inhabitants, and such the end of Scythopolis. The land is yet given to the wicked of the earth for a prey, and mourns because of the iniquity of those that dwell therein. "One generation of vipers," in human form, has succeeded to another, till, in the chief scenes of godless pleasures, where the perfection of art ministered to the gratification of the senses, vipers literally nestle in

* Jer., xxxi., 21.
† Burckhardt, p. 343.
‡ Irby and Mangles, p. 302.
§ Dr. Richardson, ii., p. 421, 422.

sculls. But Bysan shall be Bethsan again. Its site is covered with large heaps of hewn stones; and when a king shall reign in righteousness, they shall be built up again, and other walls shall be raised in the place of those which have fallen, and on which the victorious Philistines fastened the dead body of the first king of Israel,* who was faithless in the covenant, and obeyed not the command of the Lord. The prostrate columns of Corinthian architecture may then be raised in memorial of the evil days that shall have passed away, never to return.

Tiberias, previous to the earthquake of 1837, was fortified by a thick and well-built wall, twenty feet in height, with a high parapet, and flanked by twenty round towers in excellent condition, and was considered as a place almost impregnable to Syrian soldiers.† To the south, the margin of the lake is covered with the ruins of the former city. Heaps of stones, and some ruined walls and foundations of houses, a few columns, the ruins of a large, thick wall or mole, with a few columns of gray granite lying in the sea, and midway between the town and the hot baths, where the springs flow as copiously and as warm as ever, one prostrate column of gray granite, and the fragments of a column of red Egyptian granite, are the only remains of antiquity exposed to the view of the passing traveller in traversing the ruins of the ancient city; other columns, as conjectured by Burckhardt, probably lie on the surface, hid among the high grass with which the plain is covered.‡ Besides these ruins, which stretch half an hour along the seashore, and extend about three hundred yards inland, there are other remains of ancient habitations on the north side of the hill, and some thick walls, the remnant of ancient fortifications. The ruins of the modern city may now be added to those of the old. "The prostrate walls of the town now present little more than heaps of ruins; and not a finger," says Dr. Robinson, "has yet been raised to build them up. In some places they are still standing, though with breaches; but from every quarter footsteps led over the ruins into the city. The castle also has suffered greatly. Very many of the houses were destroyed by the same earthquake which prostrated Saphet and Tyre; few remained without injury. Several of the minarets were thrown down, but a slender one of wood had escaped. We entered the town directly from our tent, and made our way

* 1 Samuel, xxxi., 10. † Burckhardt, p. 320, 321. ‡ Ibid., p. 326, 329

Bertuiz

Prudhomme

TIBERIAS.

HARPER & BROTHERS

through the streets in the midst of the sad desolation."* (See Plate.)

The castle and city of *Saphed* were long a stronghold of the Crusaders; and the possession of it by the Sultan of Egypt, when, pressed by famine, it was surrendered by the Templars, gave him the command of all Galilee. At the instigation of Benedict, bishop of Marseilles, who bequeathed to it his whole fortune, the castle was rebuilt by the Templars. In the beginning of last century, though its condition was then so ruinous that its ancient figure could scarcely be determined, the multitude of ruins and the extent of its circuit, nearly a mile and a half, gave manifest proof that it had been formerly a very strong fortification. "In order to form some idea of this fortification in its present state," says Van Egmont, "imagine a lofty mountain, and on its summit a round castle with walls of an incredible thickness, with a corridor, or covered passage, extending round the walls and ascended by a winding staircase. The thickness of the wall and of the corridor together was twenty of my paces. The whole was of *hewn stone*, and some of them eight or nine spans in length. The castle was anciently surrounded by stupendous works, moats, bulwarks, towers, &c. The stones of a large structure in the form of a dome are of astonishing magnitude. The inside is full of niches, near each of which is a small shell. An open colonnade surrounds the building, and, like the rest of the structure, is very massive and compact. From the top of the dome we had the finest prospect that can be imagined, extending over the city of Saphet, and the numerous circumjacent villages and hamlets, and the adjoining country, which is everywhere well cultivated."† When visited by Burckhardt, Saphed was a neatly-built town. The castle appeared to have undergone a thorough repair in the course of the last century; it had a good wall, and was surrounded by a broad ditch. The town was surrounded by large olive plantations and vineyards. The garrison cultivated a part of the neighbouring lands.‡ But here, as elsewhere, the fortress has ceased from Ephraim. The same earthquake which overthrew Tiberias, levelled Saphed with the ground. Syria has for many ages been the scene of desolations wrought by the hands of man. But war is the messenger of the Lord, and

* Robinson and Smith, iii., p. 253, 254. † Burckhardt, p. 317.
‡ Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii., p. 43-46.

warriors the executioners of his will. Before them, as human instruments, bulwarks may stand long unshaken by all their power. But when the Lord speaks the earth trembles, and at his word the strongest cities and castles, deemed impregnable, fall like the grass before the scythe of the mower. Often has the word of the Lord passed over many cities in Syria, and sometimes scarcely one has escaped. How terrible these judgments were which brought the cities to the dust, and made the defenced city a ruin, some idea may be formed from the description of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, of Beyrout, who was accompanied by Mr. Calman, and who, in Christian mercy, visited the surviving inhabitants soon after the fearful catastrophe. "All anticipations were utterly confounded when the reality burst upon our sight. Up to this moment I had refused to credit the accounts; but one frightful glance convinced me that it was not in the power of language to overstate such a ruin. Suffice it to say, that this great town, which seemed to me like a beehive four years ago, is now no more. Saphed *was*, but is not. The Jewish portion, containing a population of five or six thousand, was built round, and upon a very steep mountain; so steep, indeed, is the hill, and so compactly built was the town, that the roofs of the lower houses formed the streets of the ones above, thus rising like a stairway one above another; and thus, when the tremendous shock dashed every house to the ground, the first fell upon the second, the second upon the third, that upon the next, and so on to the end; and this is the true cause of the almost unprecedented destruction of life. Some of the lower houses are covered to a great depth with the ruins of many others which were above them.* Most of the houses were prostrated in a few moments; thousands of the inhabitants of Saphed (chiefly Jews) were buried beneath the ruins; the castle was utterly thrown down, and the lower houses were covered with the accumulated masses of ruins.† Fallen as the cities of Israel are, and raised up again as they shall be according to the same Divine word, and numerous as were those which earthquakes prostrated when existing in their prime, Saphed may supply an illustration how accumulated ruins are storehouses of hewn stones, all ready for reconstruction.

The castle of *Baneas*, so famous in the history of the Cru-

* Robinson and Smith, Appendix, vol. iii., p. 471–475.
† Narrative, p. 366.

saders, is now "in complete ruins," but was once a very strong fortress. Its whole circumference is twenty-five minutes (or upward of a mile). It is surrounded by a wall ten feet thick, flanked with numerous round towers, built with great blocks of stone, each about two feet square. Within the precincts of the castle are ruins of many private habitations. There are four wells in the castle, one more than twenty feet square, walled in with a vaulted roof at least twenty-five feet high, and full of water in a dry season at the end of summer. Over the source of the River Panias is a perpendicular rock, in which are several niches; in one, the base of the statue is still visible. Round the source are a number of *hewn stones*. There is a well-built bridge near the ruins of an ancient town, which extend from it about a mile. No walls remain, but *great quantities of stone* and architectural fragments are scattered about. Near it are the ruins of another strong castle, of which several of the towers are standing. It bears the date of 600 and —— years (of the Hedjira), or of the thirteenth century;* so long after the destruction of them all was foretold, were fortresses built in the land of Israel.

The ruins of *Bostra* (not Bozrah), near Baneas, consist of the foundations of private habitations, built of moderately-sized squared stones. In the upper city are the remnants of several buildings. A heap of hewn stones of larger dimensions than the rest indicates the site of some public buildings. The circuit of one division of the town is rather less, and the other rather more, than a quarter of an hour.†

At the end of an hour and a half from Baneas, Burckhardt reached Ain Hazouri, about an hour to the north of which are "the ruins of a city called *Hazouri*"‡—the ancient Hazor, once "*the head of the kingdoms*" of Canaan.§ But the word of the Lord, in after ages, went forth against it,‖ and it has been desolate for *many generations*. Though its name is retained in its ruins, they have not hitherto been visited or described. Brochard, who marked their position, eight leagues from Tyre on the east, corresponding to that assigned them by the renowned modern traveller of the same name, states that to "his day its ruins attested the ancient magnificence of the city."¶

In the naturally rich region which surrounds the streams

* Burckhardt, p. 36-41. † Ibid., p. 41. ‡ Ibid., p. 44. § Josh., xi., 10.
‖ Jer., xlix., 33. ¶ Brocard, Orbis Novus, p. 362.

which flow into Lake Houle, the waters of Merom, towns were numerous in ancient times, as are ruins now. The *towns of Cæsarea Philippi*,* into which Jesus went, were, but are not. Some of the friends of the Sheik of Baneas enumerated to Burckhardt the names of seventeen ruins† in the neighbourhood north of Baneas.

Returning to the *seacoast*, having previously noticed the ruins of Askelon, we may look for the ruins of other cities along the shores of Syria.

We have seen how, at the close of the eleventh century, *Cæsarea* for a time withstood the crusading armies, and on its capture enriched them all. It was built by Herod the Great, in honour of the emperor of the world, and was a magnificent city, worthy of the imperial name it bore. It was adorned with most splendid palaces and stately edifices, built of excellent materials, and admirably constructed. "The city," says Josephus, "was built of white stone, and was adorned both with the most splendid palaces and private dwellings. But its greatest and most laborious structure was a harbour perfectly safe, in extent equal to the Piræum (at Athens), and having within it two stations for ships. This work was the more wonderful, from there being no materials at hand for its construction, which had to be brought from a distance, and at great expense."‡ It formed one of the most wonderful works of antiquity, built as it was of stones fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine in depth, which were placed twenty fathoms deep. The mole built by the seaside was two hundred feet wide, with towers of sufficient strength to break the force of the severest tempest. A quay encircled the whole haven, and around it was a street of polished stone. Of similar, but still nobler structure, was a temple, so lofty as to be visible at a distance from the sea, in which was a statue to Cæsar, and another to Rome. Among other works were a theatre and amphitheatre of great dimensions; and no less labour was bestowed on subterranean vaults. The city, in its grandeur, was given up to pleasure; and its games or festivals, famous throughout the empire, were renewed every fifth year. Erected at incredible expense and labour, in the short space

* Mark, viii., 45.

† The ruins of Dara, Bokatha, Bassisa, Alouba, Afkerdouya, Hauratha (this was described as being of great extent, with many walls and arches still remaining), Enzouby, Hauarit, Kleile, Emteile, Misherefe, Zar, Katloube, Kseire, Kasoua, Beit-el-Berek.—*Burckhardt's Trav.*, p. 45.

‡ Josephus, tom. i., p. 694. Ant., xv., 9.

of twelve years, its glory, like its games, soon ranked with that of the first cities of the empire, till its king, arrayed in royal apparel, and seated on his throne—it may be in the noble oratory which, as we have seen, flowed in an after age with the blood of the citizens—addressed the people in such lofty strains, that they shouted, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. The worms of which he was eaten, ere by the law of nature they would have had their prey, gave the lie to such blasphemous adulation. The fall of the proud monarch was an emblem of that of the proud city; and its fall is emblematical of that of all Cæsarean, as well as all papal pride and power. The magnificent city of Cæsarea, the noblest monument of Herod's greatness, the capital of a kingdom, and afterward of a province, the metropolitan see of nineteen bishoprics, is so buried in its ruins, that its palaces, temples, churches, forum, theatre, amphitheatre, walls, moles, all its polished houses, and many of its mighty towers, now lie in undistinguishable masses of undefinable form, as the accompanying plate, more than words, may testify—over all of which indiscriminately, covered with thistles or thorns and rank weeds, wild boars, lynxes, hyenas, and wolves have their abode; while, wholly untenanted as it is by man, vipers—of which, as of "snakes and scorpions, there are many"*—may there bask in sculls, as in the sister archiepiscopal city of Scythopolis.

In the capital of Palestine, as in many cities of Syria, heaps rising above the ordinary level of the ground, all raised by ruins, distinguish the sites of public buildings from those of private dwellings. "There are three rising grounds," says Pococke, "at the bottom of the port; that in the middle might be the site of the temple; that to the north might be the forum; and the hill to the south, the theatre; behind which, where stood the amphitheatre, the rising ground, I suppose, was made by the ruins of it."† "The mounds," says Mr. Buckingham, "in which Pococke thought he could recognise the sites of the tower of Drusus, Cæsar's temple, &c., are mere masses of undefinable form, and without a feature that could assist to distinguish the one from the other."‡ A century ago the separate heaps may have been somewhat more distinguishable than now. But Pococke states "that it was impossible then to go to any part

* Mr. Robinson's Travels, vol. i., p. 190.
† Pococke, p. 59.
‡ Buckingham's Palestine, p. 137.

where there was not a beaten path—beaten as a track by beasts, perhaps—the ground being much overgrown with briers and thistles: the place was a remarkable resort for wild boars, which abound also in the neighbouring plain; and when the Mohammedans kill them, they leave their carcasses on the spot."* "The plain at present," says Dr. Clarke, "is inhabited only by jackals and beasts of prey. As we were becalmed during the night, we heard the cries of these animals until daybreak."† Such now is Cæsarea, though "perhaps there has not been, in the history of the world, an example of any city that in so short a space of time rose to such an extraordinary height of splendour."‡ It was in vain that Herod built it as an enduring monument of his glory; but it was not in vain that an apostle of Jesus, imprisoned there for two years, shook off the dust of his feet as he passed, not to return, through the gates of Cæsarea.

In the sixteenth century, Rauwolff, who passed by it, spoke of the large and broad streets, in which scarcely any one was to be seen, and of the important and stately antiquities that still remained there.§ Two aqueducts, one carried on a wall thirteen feet thick, another built on arches, which was a rusticated work; the remains of walls of small hewn stones, said to have been built by the Crusaders; the ruins of a very strong castle, full of fragments of fine marble pillars; great ruins of arched houses; and the "ruins of a large church, which probably was the cathedral of the archbishop," are all mentioned by Pococke as the most distinguishable remains.‖ Still along the shore are the remains of a building, with fine Roman arches yet perfect, and of another pile, with five or six columns fallen into the sea. Mr. Buckingham saw fragments of white marble highly polished, some of the white stone (λευκης πετρας) mentioned by Josephus,¶ of which the edifices were built; but the principal remains are the ruins of a large and well-built fort of excellent workmanship, with many pyramidal bastions, the whole terminating in an edifice on a rocky base surrounded by enormous blocks of rocks, probably, as Mr. Buckingham remarks, the tower of Drusus, which was built on the mole itself, where this ruin stands, having braved the raging fury of two thousand winters, and still defying the storms of

* Pococke, p. 59. † Clarke's Travels, vol. ii., p. 645. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 266. ‖ P. 59.
¶ Josephus, tom. i., p. 694. Ant., xv., 9.

ocean to effect its total demolition. The port appears rather to have been destroyed by a besieging force than to have fallen gradually to decay.*

The ruins of Cæsarea lie in heaps, over which briers and thistles are spread, and, as it were, wild beasts and noxious reptiles watch. And if the ruins of Askelon were no sooner touched, and the sand partially cleared away, with the intention of building a new town and harbour from the ancient materials, than many interesting remains were exposed to view, what may not Cæsarea, with its streets of polished stones and marble buildings, display? The case is not problematical; for, according to the testimony of Dr. Clarke, and the confession of the man who had done the work, "in the garden of Djezzar's palace (then Pasha of Acre), leading to his summer apartments, we saw some pillars of yellow variegated marble of extraordinary beauty; but these, he informed us, he had procured from the ruins of Cæsarea, together with almost all the marble used in the decoration of his very sumptuous mosque. A beautiful fountain of white marble, close to the entrance of his palace, has also been constructed with materials from these ruins."† "'They have been resorted to as a quarry wherever building materials have been required. At Acre, Djezzar Pasha brought from hence the columns of rare and beautiful marble, as well as the other ornaments of his palace, bath, fountain, and mosque."‡

It may thus begin to be seen that the labour expended on one of the most princely of cities, the fine materials of which it was constructed, the polished stones of which elegant buildings forming streets were built, the masses of hewn stone which were once the palaces, the cathedral, the churches, the oratory, the courts, the walls, &c., shall not be forever lost. Even because buried they are best preserved; and while the tombs of Petra look as if fresh from the chisel, the work of that instrument having in ages past been perfected on the covered stones of Cæsarea, the *hands of strangers*, to whom the labour pertains, shall have nothing else to do than to build up its walls into habitations for many more, it may well be, of the children of Israel than the ten thousand Jews whom the other citizens slew in the day of the downfall of Judah. But when the cities of Ju-

* Buckingham's Travels, p. 135–137. † Clarke's Travels, vol. ii., p. 382.
‡ Ibid., p. 645.

dah and of Israel shall be built again, and the Gospel be believed in all its simplicity, as Paul and Peter preached it in the city of Cæsarea, no statue shall be raised, as of old, to Rome or to Cæsar, to heathen gods or to popish saints; and when the Lord will make the judges of his people just, there shall not be a Festus to tremble at the preaching of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, nor an Agrippa on earth, who shall not be more than *almost* a Christian, nor a Herod, to whom shall be given the glory which pertains to the Lord alone; but all the houses of Cæsarea, or those formed from its stones, shall be like unto that of Cornelius the centurion, the first Gentile to whom the Gospel was sent, and who believed in God with all his house; and where the repose of the traveller is now broken by the cry of wild beasts, songs of praise shall be heard in the dwellings of the righteous.

On the coast between Cæsarea and Carmel are the extensive ruins of the ancient *Dora*, so fallen that these possess nothing of interest, and the village of *Athlite*, constructed from the ruins of a more ancient city. The old walls which surround it are those of *Castrum peregrinorum*. Another wall encloses a considerable space of ground now uninhabited. The walls and windows of a fine Gothic hall, and many similar ruins, bespeak the former character and consequence of the place. "From the commodiousness of the bay, the extent of the quarries in the neighbourhood, the fine plains near it, though now but partly cultivated, it would seem that the place was formerly of much importance, and that the neighbourhood, though now very thinly inhabited, was once populous."*

A*kka*, the ancient Acon, Acre, or Ptolemais, fell to the lot of the tribe of Asher,† though the Israelites, faithless in the covenant, could not drive out its inhabitants. It was, in the Middle Ages, one of the most renowned of cities, from the multitude of slain that fell before its walls. For two years it was the contested prize of Christendom. It was fortified in the strongest manner with double walls, and towers, and fortresses, and adorned with a great hospital and castellated fortifications.‡ Its fame was renewed in modern times, and not a capital in Europe could boast like it that the baffled Napoleon retreated from its walls after a

* Irby and Mangles, p. 190–192. Monro's Travels in Syria, vol. i., p. 62.
† Judges, i., 31. ‡ Bochard, p. 260.

desperate and bloody siege of three months. Besieged for twice that period in 1834 by Ibrahim Pasha, the shores and the high grounds being occupied with batteries to the farthest range, it fell not till "the devastation committed upon the domes and minarets of the mosques by the shells and round shot were visible from without; and within, walls and houses overthrown gave the place the appearance of a heap of ruins."* An illustration was given how a city of Syria could be speedily raised from its ruins, and become, if needful, a stronghold again. It arose once more from its ruins, and with it Mehemet Ali held Syria as his own. The last siege, still fresh in the memory of the existing generation, is an indication, among many others, that the time at length is come when, compared with the lingering events of earlier days, a *short work* will the Lord do upon the earth. In three hours it fell, not from the ordinary effects of any bombardment, however terrible. As if commissioned by the Lord of Hosts, who is the Lord of Israel, like the arrow from a bow drawn at a venture, which brought Ahab down, a bomb penetrated a magazine of powder stored up for defence, and raised the arsenal in the air, as if to show that the time was come that the last *fortress* in Palestine should *cease*, and strewed it stone by stone upon the ground, as if the times too were not distant when the hands of strangers should find other work, and build up the ruined walls in another form. Taken but as yesterday by the British, it was given to the Turks! whose character must be changed ere the work of reparation be done by them. What next? it may be asked. Let the answer in effect be seen. And it may be that the time will no longer tarry till the world be a witness that it was not in vain that Acre fell to the lot of a tribe of Israel.

In passing from Acre to Tyre, Captains Irby and Mangles, about three hours before reaching the latter, observed some ruins on a small eminence, which, on a narrower inspection, presented to their view the remains of a large city, and the ruins of a temple in a most dilapidated state. Only two columns, much defaced, are standing, the ruined monuments of a *decayed city*. From thence the remains of the great ancient paved way to Tyre are distinctly traceable, and between it and Sidon they "passed through the ruins of five or six large cities, now mere rubbish" or utterly desolate.

* Monro, vol. i., p. 53.

Of the hundreds of cities or towns that anciently flourished in Palestine, whether under the Israelites or the Romans, not one has been left to give now an example or illustration of what they were. Time after time they have been laid waste, and many of them are desolate without an inhabitant. Where miserable villages take the place and the name of large towns, and where towns still exist where cities stood, nothing more can be said than the prophet foretold in declaring the work of the Lord concerning them. Thus saith the Lord God, *The city that went out by a thousand shall leave a hundred, and that which went out by a hundred shall leave ten, to the house of Israel.**

The Jews, as a nation, rejected the Messiah; and while the Gospel has been preached for many ages among the Gentiles, that a people might be brought from among them to the Lord, Jerusalem has been trodden down of the Gentiles, and the cities of Judah have been laid waste. In denouncing judgments against the cities of Judah, the prophet charged them with the sin of idolatry: *According to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah.*† That they might not fall for the want of a message of salvation, if they would have heard it, Jesus not only went throughout them, but sent his twelve apostles, and afterward seventy disciples, to preach the Gospel in them all. But there were not believers enough to save the cities, and they fell, though the kingdom of God had come nigh unto them all. An apostate church, in after ages, could not reverse, but brought down from heaven the renewal of the judgments. Again and again has the fury of the Lord been kindled against the cities of Judah, and he has laid them desolate without man and without beast. But when the curses of the covenant shall pass away, and wars forever cease in the land, because the Lord shall make a new and everlasting covenant of peace with the house of Judah as with the house of Israel, then shall his oft-repeated word of promise be fulfilled, *God will save Zion, and will build the cities of Judah, that they might dwell there, and have it in possession. The seed also of his servants shall inherit it, and they that love his name shall dwell therein.*‡ All the goodliness of man—all the goodliness, as we have seen, of the goodliest of cities—is as the flower of the field; *the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it.* And in Palestine the

* Amos, v., 3. † Jer., ii., 28. ‡ Psalm lxix., 35, 36.

sight is common of withered grass and faded flowers covering ruined cities, ruined because the Spirit of the Lord has blown also upon them. The *grass withereth, the flower fadeth*, as Scripture repeats the saying; *but*, as it adds, *the word of our God shall stand forever*. And in the next words and same breath, the voice heard by the prophet cried, "*O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, behold your God.*"* "*I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins; return unto me, for I have redeemed thee. Sing, O ye heavens, for the Lord hath done it. Thus saith the Lord, that confirmeth the word of his servants, that saith to Jerusalem, thou shalt be inhabited, and* TO THE CITIES OF JUDAH, YE SHALL BE BUILT, *and I will raise up the decayed places* (or wastes) *thereof*."† Israel shall be saved of the Lord with an everlasting salvation.‡ *In the cities of the mountains, in the cities of the vale, in the cities of the south, and in the land of Benjamin*, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in *the cities of Judah*, shall the flocks pass under the hands of him that telleth them, saith the Lord. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah. In those days and at that time, I will cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days Judah shall be saved.§

CHAPTER XI.

RUINS IN THE NORTH OF SYRIA, BEYOND THE ANCIENT BORDERS OF ISRAEL.

THE iniquity of the Israelites in departing from the living God, hemmed them within narrow limits while they dwelt in the land, and finally expelled them from it all; but there was no limit to the curses of the covenant which were to

* Isa., xl., 8, 9.
† Ibid., xliv., 23, 26.
‡ Ibid., xlv., 17.
§ Jer., xxxiii., 13–16.

fall upon the land, while there was no city to be found within it in which the everlasting covenant was not broken, when thousands of churches overspread all the land. On the *final* return of the seed of Jacob to the inheritance given them by an everlasting covenant, when they shall no more be plucked out of it, their *heritage*, in all its amplitude, shall be theirs, and the face of the land shall be filled with cities. They shall *enlarge the place of their tent, and shall break forth on the right hand and on the left; and their seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.** Throughout the extent of the land we may thus look for ruined cities, in the faith that as assuredly as they have fallen they shall be raised again within all the borders of the ancient *kingdom* of Israel, when the blessings of the new covenant shall supplant the curses of the old, and the Lord shall be glorified in Israel.

The diminutive territory within which the seed of Israel dwelt of old, and possessed as their own, even when reduced to the land of Judea, sufficed for all the temporary purposes of the first covenant with Israel under the law; but the new covenant yet to be made with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, that the Abrahamic covenant may have its full completion, demands ampler scope, as it forbids that *very much* or any land should again *remain to be possessed*, when all the earth shall see that the Lord will not suffer his faithfulness to fail. Most imperfect, therefore, would be our view, were we not to cast a glance from Sidon to Seleucia, and from the sources of the Jordan to the mouth of the Orontes, and from thence to the banks of the Euphrates, and see whether, in the intermediate widespread territories, cities be not ready to rise from their ruins whenever the people to whom it pertains shall be brought within the bonds of the covenant, and shall be no longer *slack to go in and possess* the land to its farthest borders on every side.

When Israel shall be the *restorer of cities to dwell in*, he will not seek in vain where cities of the Canaanites stood. Each tribe, on the north as well as on the south of the land, may well have its towns from the Mediterranean Sea to the River of Assyria; and if the Lord do better to them than at the beginning, He will not do worse to Israel when *the people shall be all righteous*, than He did to the idolatrous Canaanites or apostate Romans, nor worse to the believing

* Isa., liv., 2.

sons of Isaac when they shall be a *blessing* to all nations, than He did to the misbelieving sons of Ishmael when they came as a *woe* for the infliction of his judgments.

The cities of Phœnicia, which were long renowned throughout the world, and which armies of Crusaders at first passed unassailed and only reduced after many years, have for ages lost their fame, and some of them have only recently been recognised, while others have yet to be sought for. But when the *heritage of Jacob* shall be filled with cities along the seacoast, against which the sword of the Lord has been unsheathed from end to end for many generations, peaceful dwellings shall arise, and the sound of war be heard no more, but the Gospel of peace shall be the creed of Israel where fierce Crusaders fought in vain.

Byblus, Esbele, or Jebail, once famous for the temple and worship of Adonis, is still "enclosed by a wall of moderate height, about a mile and a half in circumference, with square towers at intervals. Large vacant spaces appear on every side, formerly occupied by houses, and the shops in the bazar are nearly all shut up."* "Many fragments of fine granite columns are lying about in the neighbourhood. Few inhabitants remain."† The many heaps of ruins, and the fine pillars that are scattered up and down in the gardens near the town, show, says Mr. Maundrell, that it was anciently a place of no mean extent as well as beauty.‡

Botrus (Batrone), before its destruction by the Templars, was a very opulent city, and renowned for its celebrated wines.§ At *Patrone*, its humble representative, are some remains of an old church and monastery of the Middle Ages, the only memorials of the episcopal city.‖

In the territory of Tripoli, some remains are to be seen of inland as well as of maritime cities. Near the village of Beshiza are the ruins of a small temple, with projecting bases for statues. On the ruined walls, the door and its soffit are ornamented with beautiful sculptures, not inferior to those of Baalbec. The entablature of the portico is perfect. Of the four Ionic columns which formed it, three are standing, eighteen feet high, and of a single stone. In the midst of the building stands a large oak, whose overshadowing branches render the ruin highly picturesque.¶

* Mr. Robinson's Travels, vol. ii., p. 51.
† Burckhardt, p. 160.
‡ Maundrell, p. 45.
§ Brocard, p. 261.
‖ Maundrell, p. 44. Robinson, p. 53.
¶ Burckhardt, p. 176.

Ruins bearing the name of *Naous* form the remains of an ancient town. Of two ruined temples, it is said that they are worthy the traveller's attention. The labour and art expended upon them were not spent that they might be hid so long and finally be passed by, all but disregarded. But they are worthy of attention; for, of the smaller one, there still stands a ruined wall with two niches, and fragments of columns three feet in diameter. It is an oblong building composed of large square stones. The other, which stood in an area of sixty paces in length by fifty in breadth, is surrounded by a wall, of which the foundations and some fragments remain. The beautiful gate that led to this area is still entire; the two posts, elegantly sculptured, fourteen feet high and ten wide, are each, together with the soffit, formed of a single stone. The temple within presents nothing but a heap of ruins. The ground is covered with Corinthian columns, capitals, and friezes. The wall of the area is built with large blocks of *well-cut stone*, some of which are upward of twelve feet long.*

Archis, or Arka, the capital of the Arkites, and the birthplace of Alexander Severus, was, as described by the Archbishop of Tyre, one of the cities of the province of Phœnicia, near the foot of Lebanon, situated on a strongly-fortified hill.† A very fertile plain, five miles broad, lay between it and the sea. Of this ancient metropolis of one of the families of the Canaanites, nothing but ruins remain, though the natural beauty of the scene and richness of the fertile plain, five miles broad, that intervenes between it and the sea, are as great as ever. As described by Dr. Shaw, "It is built over against the northern extremity of Lebanon, in a most delightful situation, having the prospect to the northward of an extensive plain, diversified with an infinite variety of castles and villages, ponds and ruins. To the westward it sees the sun set in the sea, and to the eastward, rise over a long and distant chain of mountains. Here, likewise, are not wanting *Thebaic* columns and rich entablatures to attest the splendour and politeness it was some time possessed of. The citadel was erected on the summit of an adjacent mount, which by its situation must have been impregnable in former times; for the mount is in the figure of a cone, in an ascent of fifty or sixty degrees, appearing to have been, not the work of nature, but of art. In the deep valley below

* Burckhardt, p. 173, 174. Mr. Robinson, vol. i., p. 48. † Will. Tyr., p. 737.

the city we have a brisk stream more than sufficient for the necessities of the plain; yet it hath been judged more convenient to supply it with water from Mount Lebanon, for which purpose they have united the mountain to the city by an aqueduct, whose principal arch could not be less than a hundred feet in diameter."* The castles, whose variety served to diversify the plain, may now, like most of the Phœnician cities, be sought for in their ruins. When all the land of the Canaanites shall be possessed by the Israelites, and the cities be rebuilt, the labour anciently expended on the construction of Arca may facilitate its re-erection. On the top of the conical artificial hill on which the citadel stood, there are, as Burckhardt was told, some ruins of habitations and walls. "Upon an elevation on its east and south sides, which commands a beautiful view over the plain, the sea, and the Anzeyry Mountains, are large and extensive heaps of rubbish, traces of ancient buildings, *blocks of hewn stone*, remains of walls, and fragments of granite columns."†

The city which covered the small islands of *Aradus* (*Arvad*) was the capital of the Arvadites. According to Strabo, they had, in early ages, kings of their own, like other cities of Phœnicia; and he states that in his day it was so crowded with inhabitants that they lived in houses of many stories.‡ As seen from the shore by Maundrell, it was wholly filled up with tall buildings like castles, and Pococke states that there were great remains of the outer wall, which on one side is very high and about fifteen feet thick, being built of large stones, some of which are fifteen feet long.§

Near it on the coast is the modern *Tartous*, supposed by some to be Orthosia. The ancient walls are of large hewn stones. The ancient castle or fort is surrounded by a double wall of coarse marble nearly half a mile in circuit, and estimated by Pococke as at least fifty feet high; within it is a roofless church, with several holy emblems carved upon its walls. Within the fortress are still to be seen the traces of the more extensive walls and ditch which encompassed the ancient city, and fragments of buildings and granite pillars mark the place of former grandeur. Amid all these scattered remains, the only edifice left is a large Christian church, divided into three aisles by two rows of clustered pillars,

* Shaw's Travels, Oxon., 1738, p. 327, 328.
† Burckhardt, p. 162.
‡ Strabo, p. 1071.
§ Pococke, p. 209.

like those of cathedrals in England. It is built of hewn stone inside and out. "It is one hundred and thirty feet in length, in breadth ninety-three, and in height sixty-one. Its walls, and arches, and pillars are of a bastard marble, and all still so entire that a small expense would suffice to recover it into the state of a beautiful church again. But," says Maundrell, "to the grief of any Christian beholder, it is now made a stall for cattle." It is still appropriated to no other use than a shelter for herds.*

In travelling between Tortosa and Jebilee, Maundrell, after noting heaps of ruins on both sides of the Naher-el-Melech, with several pillars of granite, and other marks of considerable buildings, adds, "Likewise, all along this day's journey, we observed many ruins of castles and houses, which testify that this country, however it be neglected at present, was once in the hands of a people that knew how to value it, and thought it worth the defending. Strabo calls this whole region, from Jebilee as far as Aradus, the country of the Aradi, and gives us the names of several places situated anciently along this coast, as Paltus, Balanea, Caranus, Enydra, Marathus, Ximyra."†

The castle *Merkab* is about half a mile in circumference. The inner walls are fifteen feet thick. The ancient fortifications now enclose a village.‡ From Tortosa to Jebilee the tract exhibits ruins of castles and ancient sites, and the whole tract from hence to Latakia, to judge from the ruins and ancient sites which are met with, was formerly thickly inhabited, though now nearly deserted.§

Banias, though entirely deserted, is doubtless the ancient Balanea. "Its situation proves it to have been anciently pleasant, its ruins are well built, and its bay an advantageous situation."‖

Granite pillars, hewn blocks, excavated sepulchres, the remains of a mole, constructed of huge square stones, projecting into the sea, testify in some measure the ancient splendour of the city of *Gabala* or *Jebilee*; but the greatest existing monument of its former eminence is the remains of a noble theatre, said to have been of immense height, though, "as for what remains of this mighty Babel," says Maundrell, "it is no more than twenty feet high. The flat side of it has been blown up with gunpowder by the Turks; and from

* Maundrell, p. 1524–25. Pococke, p. 201. Buckingham, 520–522.
† Maundrell, p. 21, 22. ‡ Pococke, p. 201. Irby and Mangles, p. 229.
§ Mr. Robinson, p. 71. ‖ Maundrell, p. 23.

thence (as they related) was taken a great quantity of marble which we saw used in adorning the bagnio and mosque." The semicircle, which alone is standing, extends a hundred yards from corner to corner. The massiveness of the building, still convertible to other uses than the structure of a mosque, may be judged of by the thickness of the walls of hewn stone. "The outer wall is three yards three quarters thick, and built of very large and firm stones, whose great strength has preserved it thus."*

Latakia, the ancient Laodicea, built by Seleucus in honour of his mother, and in Christian times the see of a bishop, may supply a significant, but imperfect, because untimely, illustration of the facility with which long-buried cities may be disentombed, and the hewn stones be applied to their yet destined use. It was a very inconsiderable place till, towards the close of the seventeenth century, on the establishment of the tobacco trade to Damietta, the town was enlarged, and several good houses were built of the hewn stones which, in the time and according to the testimony of Pococke, they were continually digging out of the ruins, for the ground of the city is risen very much, having been often destroyed by earthquakes.† Such was the testimony of Pococke nearly a century ago; and Mr. Robinson, who visited it in 1830, states that the ruins of the ancient city offer ready building materials to the modern inhabitants.‡

For the reconstruction of Laodicea not a stone was blasted in the quarry, nor hewn anew, nor transported to the spot. The ancient city, like Cæsarea, was itself the quarry, and the hewn stones, all ready, were raised up where they lay: and when the desolation which earthquakes wrought in levelling the city, and thereby raising the ground on which it stood, shall be counter-wrought by the sons of strangers building up the walls, the ground shall be reduced again to its proper level, the heaps disappear, and Laodicea be again what it was in the days of Strabo, a splendidly-built city.§

Some remains of piers built into the sea, foundations of walls of large hewn stones, and some signs of a stronghold at the end of a pier, a supposed tower that defended the port, seem to indicate the site of *Heracleum*, a city which, like many in Syria, can only be raised again from its foundations.‖ As low as *it* lies the neighbouring town of *Possidium*, far more

* Maundrell, p. 21. Pococke, p. 199. Burckhardt, p 529, 530.
† Pococke, p. 197.
‡ Robinson's Travels, vol. ii., p. 339.
§ Strabo, lib. xvi., p. 1068, ed. Falcon.
‖ Pococke, p. 194, 195.

easily recognised by the name of *Bosseda* than by the signs of a town-wall and of a fosse, the remains of a round tower, and of a few houses of hewn stone, as if to tell where others lie, which now bear that name.*

If the reader think, from such examples as these, that he has been led in vain through many a useless ruin, in which nothing worthy of notice, as travellers sometimes say, can be seen, and which only dishonour the ancient names they bear, let him look, as in the first plate, on the spot where the sea ripples on a few bare stones stretching into it from a sandy beach, and let him listen, not to the tale of an ordinary traveller, who might pass them by all but unheeded, but to the testimony of one who deservedly stands high among the military engineers of Britain, and now commands its artillery on the coast of China, to open up a way, perhaps, for the Gospel of peace into that land long sealed in darkness; and he may learn that richer treasures lie concealed amid the *desolations of many generations* than the wild Arab believes to be hid among ruins.

In that plate he has already seen how, *from the sea*, the *very high mountain* may be pointed out, from which Mount Amanus stretches along, as it forms, the northern border of the promised land. And if the time be come when Hor-ha-hor may at last be recognised as the scriptural landmark from which Israel's true border may be pointed out, the very spot from which the view is taken, and from which the Apostle Paul first embarked from Syria, may be a witness of the triumph which, in the land of its birth, as throughout the world, the Gospel shall yet achieve. Knowledge shall be the stability of the times of the Messiah, when there shall be no more desolation: and though no "gallant ships" shall pass by Jerusalem, they may be safely moored in the harbours of Israel, when its cities shall be rebuilt, and the merchandise of Tyre shall be *holiness to the Lord*. The time has come when, strange as it may seem, it is neither a problem nor a phantasy to say that the long-forgotten labours of Seleucus, as of Herod, may be turned to account at no distant day, and how these mighty kings, like many beside them, were as hewers of stone for the cities of Israel.

Along the *seacoast*—which was destined for a time to be *destroyed*—we have seen how, on one extremity, materials for the reconstruction of a city and of a harbour have recent-

* Pococke, p. 195.

ly been laid open to view at *Askelon*, and how the ornaments of a palace, &c., have been already taken from the heaps of Cæsarea; and, having reached the entrance into Hamath, we may pause for a moment at the ruins of Seleucia, and think of things that yet shall be.

The article from the pen of Colonel Chesney, on the Bay of Antioch and the ruins of Seleucia Pieria, here again supplies us with facts alike interesting and important, which might at once silence every cavil as to the restoration of a port, or the re-erection of a city in Syria. The needful *repairs* of a Phœnician harbour may be as "trifling" as those of a city of Bashan, when the cities that need no more shall, according to the Word of the Lord, be *repaired*, and the desolations of many generations shall be raised up to perpetuate the glory of the God of Israel. Modern, like ancient, governors and kings have all their projects of a day, but the covenant of the Lord shall stand forever.

"Ali Pasha, the present governor of Bagdad (once governor of Aleppo), had, however, a different project (than that of rendering the Orontes navigable) when he turned his thoughts to the means of increasing the commercial prosperity of this part of Turkey. The foundation of his plan was to be the restoration of the once magnificent port of Seleucia, the masonry of which is still in so good a state that it merely requires trifling repairs in some places, and to be cleared out, which might have been done for £31,000, and partially for £10,000.* On the south side of the entrance there is a very substantial jetty, formed of large blocks of stone secured by iron cramps. It runs northwest for seventy yards to the sea, and it may still be traced running more to the north under water, and overlapping the northern jetty, which is in a more ruinous state, but appears to have taken the direction of W.S.W., forming a kind of basin, with a narrow entrance, tolerably well protected, and altogether suited for the Roman galleys. The ancient floodgates are about fifty yards east of the south pier. The passage for the galleys, &c., is cut through the solid rock, on which are the remains of a defensive tower on each side; apartments below, with the remains of staircases to the top of each, are sufficiently distinct, as well as the places where the gates had been suspended between the towers.

"Immediately on passing the gateway the passage widens

* According to the estimate of Mr. Vincent Germain.

to about 100 yards: it takes the direction of S.E. by E. between two solid walls of masonry for 350 yards to the entrance of the great basin, which is now closed by a garden wall. The port or basin is an irregular wall of about 450 yards long by 350 in width in the southern extremity, and rather more than 200 at the northern. The surrounding wall is formed of large cut stones solidly put together, and now rising only about seven feet above the mud, which, during the lapse of ages, has gradually accumulated so as to cover probably about eight feet above the original level. The exterior side of the basin is about one third of a mile from the sea; the interior is close to the foot of the hill. The walls of the suburb touch the southwestern extremity of the basin, and entered S. by E., from thence parallel to the sea for three quarters of a mile, when they turn eastward for the same distance, flanked at short intervals by square towers. These walls form a triangle, touching the basin at one end, and the walls of the principal city at the other, so as to enclose what is described by Polybius, and subsequently by Pococke, as the market-place and suburbs. The walls of the interior part of the city appear to have had, as usual in Roman fortresses, a double line of defence, sweeping round to the north, where they rest against the hill, which seems to have a castellated citadel on its summit. On the S.E. side of the walls is the gate of Antioch, adorned with pilasters and defended by towers; this entrance must have been very handsome; near it, and parallel to the walls, are the remains of a double row of marble columns. The space within the walls of the town and suburbs, which have a circumference altogether of about four miles, is filled with the ruins of houses. A short distance from the town, on the east side, are the remains of a large amphitheatre tolerably distinct. About fourteen rows of seats may be traced in a semicircular form, filling up the whole of the valley in which the amphitheatre is placed, with its opening to the west, commanding a fine view of the bay. To the S.E., and behind the hill (on which is the amphitheatre), are the remains of two temples; the fragments of pilasters, shafts, &c., are numerous; one seems to have been of the Corinthian order, in good taste, but I could not make out the plan of either of the buildings. The range of hills behind the ruins extends almost two miles, and contains along its sides, as well as in the valleys, numerous

excavations, which are almost continuous throughout this distance. Generally speaking, they form only a single row and of small size, but occasionally there is a second line of them, above or below the others. For part of the distance these grottoes (evidently sepulchral) are generally of two kinds; the larger about twelve feet long by seven wide, having the front supported by pilasters left in excavating the solid rock, and within are three niches for bodies, viz., one on each side, and one at the back of the same dimensions, viz., two feet and a half high, and the same width, with a raised place left in the niche, of solid stone about four inches high, like a pillow for the head to rest upon; these niches are sometimes arched, but generally flat above. The smaller grottoes have a niche at each side, with a narrow space between them. One set of grottoes is called the Tomb of Kings: it consists of a façade entrance and several apartments, one within the other, with columns, and a staircase leading to another range of rooms above. In addition to these, which are the most striking, there is another single grotto of large dimensions in one of the valleys along the side of the hill: this excavation is 100 paces by 60 wide, and 25 high in the centre, the rock being excavated so as to form an arch springing from the ground on each side, that is, without side-walls. In addition to these sepulchral grottoes, of which some hundreds cover the face of the hills and all their valleys, there are many sarcophagi scattered about in every direction, always of good workmanship, and tolerably perfect, although they have been opened in almost every instance, probably in search of money.

"But the most striking part of the interesting remains at Seleucia is a very extensive excavation, cut through the solid rock from the northeastern extremity of the town almost to the sea, part of which is a deep hollow way, and the remainder regular tunnels, excavated with great skill and considerable labour."* It extends 1088 yards.

The markets and the suburbs, which, according to Polybius, lay between the city and the sea, were fortified with strong walls; and those which surrounded the city itself were remarkable for their beauty as well as their strength. Temples and other magnificent edifices adorned Seleucia.† According to Strabo, it was strongly fortified; and Seleucis,

* Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. viii., p. 230–232.
† Polyb., Hist., lib. v., c. 5.

in which it lay, was also called Tetrapolis, or the four cities, from Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea, the four most illustrious cities of that region, in which there were also others.* An indiscriminate heap of ruins, enclosed within the remains of walls four miles in circuit, looks not now as if, in another form, it ever had been destined to dignify the name of Seleucus Nicator, the most renowned and triumphant of the successors of Alexander the Great. How little the greatness of an ancient city, or the utility to which its ruins are easily convertible, may be recognised in the notice which a passing traveller deigns to take, may appear from the fact that Captains Irby and Mangles, intelligent travellers as they were, and in search of ruins, rested during night two miles from the ruins of Seleucia, and passed without visiting them, not merely because they were pressed for time, but because they understood that the "ruins possessed no particular interest." Now many a city of Syria may, to all visible appearance, be thus justly described; but while they are thus shown to be utterly desolate, a closer examination vindicates the word which, long before their fall—nay, before the erection of many of them—foretold their yet future rise.

But an estimate for the reconstruction of any ancient port or city is a novelty: and unworthy of an hour's detention as ruins may really be, from the little interest which their sight awakens, let the engineer or the architect set about the work of the rebuilding of a once magnificent city, and heaps else unworthy of notice become, on disclosing their stores, as treasures in their eyes, and "masonry" that has unprofitably braved the billows for ages may be restored, at comparatively a trifling cost and easy process, to its primitive use.

Having passed from the south along the Syrian and Phœnician coast to Seleucia, the last city of Syria, it may be worth while, without turning aside from our subject, to offer a brief remark or two suitable to the spot, and deducible from the facts immediately or previously before us.

The present pasha of Egypt on the one end of the coast, and, on the other extremity, the present pasha of Bagdad, while he held another office, purposed, at least, to set their hands, in either case, to a work, the practicability, nay, the facility of which, under more propitious circumstances, it were now unreasonable to doubt. The preparatory work

* Strabo, c. xvi., p. 1064.

was accomplished in the one case, and an estimate furnished in the other; but so wild a project would never have crossed the imagination of either pasha as that of erecting a city or constructing a port, if Askelon and Seleucia, fallen as they are, had not existed as they lie, ready to be raised or to be restored. Faccardine, a prince of the Druses, filled up the ports of Syria that he might shut out from them the ships of the sultan. He was the unconscious instrument, at last, in fully accomplishing the word of the Lord: *I will destroy the remnant of the seacoast.** But, according to the same infallible word, *the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah.*† And no exception is made of its cities when the work of restoration shall be begun. For that of the once magnificent port of Seleucia, "trifling repairs in some places," and the "clearing out" of the harbour, now an easy task, alone suffice. If the time were come, let but a word be spoken, and the work would be done. So slight would be the expenditure, that many thousands of individuals now would scarcely boast of the restoration, at such a price, of the once magnificent port of Seleucia: and there are not a few of the tribe of Judah who would not be impoverished by the restoration, if effected thus, of many harbours in Syria. May it not be that Faccardine's mode of rendering useless for a season the Syrian harbours, has proved a mean of preserving them? And how easily might it be done away, as it was easily effected, and at how trifling a cost, were other estimates given, compared to the heavy tax which Herod the Great laid on a kingdom, to construct, in so marvellous a manner, the port and city of Cæsarea, or Seleucus that of Seleucia.

But till the Lord willeth—in whose hands are the times and the seasons, as Jesus said when the time of the restoration of the kingdom to Israel was the question put to him who alone could answer it—till the Lord willeth, even the attempted restoration will be in vain. It is not by might, nor by strength, far less by money, the love of which has been *the stumbling-block of their iniquity*, that the *covenant of promise* shall meet with its accomplishment. But we have seen an instance, like many others which may be marked in passing, that national works, as they might seem, may be the device of a moment, and, like Israel's own restoration, the work of *a day*. The city of Seleucia was worthy of a

* Ezek., xxv., 16. † Zeph., ii., 7.

great king, of whom it was written in the *Scripture of Truth*, "he shall have dominion, his kingdom shall be a great dominion."* He was the first of the Seleucidæ, a *stranger*, but the conqueror of Syria, renowned, like Herod, for the noble cities that he built. The work respectively assigned them by Israel's God, which strangers began, though long retarded and seemingly reversed for centuries past, *the sons of strangers*,† who of late have prematurely tried it, shall yet timely finish.

Antioch, the seat of many kings, the chief patriarchate of the East, whose walls and bulwarks were ranked among the strongest, and its numerous churches were the finest in the world, often shattered and destroyed by earthquakes, more than by all the fiercest ravages of war, has still some tokens to show with what facility, were the days of its restoration come, it would be a great city again, but not a proud city as before, the seat of despotic and priestly domination. The capital of a province or tribedom in Israel shall not be like the capital of a Roman province or a patriarchal see, where sin reigned and ruin followed.

A single sentence, and the view of a single gate (see Plate), as drawn by Las Casas, towards the close of last century, may show that a city *without walls*, as those of Israel shall be, might be built from those which anciently were raised for its defence. The ancient walls (as now to be seen), which appear to have enclosed a space of nearly four miles in circuit, are "generally from thirty to fifty feet in height in their extremes, and fifteen feet thick throughout, having also square towers from fifty to eighty feet high, at intervals of from fifty to eighty yards apart. The stones of which these walls are constructed are not large, but the masonry is solid and good. In the S.W. quarter, the walls and towers (of hewn stone) are in one portion perfect, and in another close by much destroyed, until they disappear altogether, leaving a wide space between their last fragment here, and the portion that continues along the banks of the river."‡ Pliny states that it was divided by the Orontes; but now the present town, which is a miserable one, does not occupy more than one eighth part of the space included by the old walls, which are all on its southern side. The northern portion within the ancient walls is now filled with

* Dan., xi., 5. † Isa., lx., 10.
‡ Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 560, 561.

northern [illegible] ancient walls is now filled with

* [illegible]
† Isaiah lx., 10.
‡ [illegible] Arab Tribes, p. 560, 561.

Las Casas

GATE AT ANTIOCH.

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one extensive wood of gardens, chiefly olive, mulberry, and fig trees.* Of the many elegant churches of Antioch, the remains of only three or four, a century ago, were to be seen. Pococke saw some pieces of marble of a Mosaic pavement, which he supposed might indicate the site of the patriarchal church; and he conjectured that the patriarchal palace stood on the top of a hill in its vicinity. Such is the end of the apostolic see! A vague conjecture is the only homage that can now be paid to the departed glory of the throne which exercised supremacy over two hundred and forty bishoprics. It is but a glory of this world that can thus pass away, and such is the inheritance which the highest of hierarchies can bequeath.

Vainglory stimulated Syrian kings and Roman governors to erect splendid cities, and superstition in later ages prompted Roman devotees to raise stately edifices that could cope with magnificent heathen temples; each sharing a like fate in their ruins, may be turned to a like use in their end. If the multitude of churches could have saved a city or a country, Antioch with its hundreds would yet have stood; and the hill between it and the sea (Benkiliseh), with its reputed thousand churches, as the name imports, would yet have been covered with the dwellings of men. At the top of it are the remains of a very noble convent, called *St. Simon Stylites;* the whole of which was compassed by a wall built of hewn stone, about ninety paces in front, and two hundred and thirty in length.

A similar edifice of the same name, with numerous buildings anciently surrounding it, enough to have formed a magnificent city, is described both by Pococke and Mr. Drummond, who was British consul at Aleppo in the middle of last century. It is situated about twenty miles to the northwest of Aleppo. It was famous in the sixth and seventh centuries, not only for the devotion paid to the saint, but also for the spaciousness and magnificence of its buildings, which are yet entitled to a place among the ruins of Syria. "The whole convent appears to have been built of large hewn stones, and is about a quarter of a mile in length. The church especially," says Pococke, "is very magnificent, and is built in form of a Greek cross. At the east end of the choir are three semicircles, where, without doubt, there were three altars, and the entrances to them are adorned

* Irby and Mangles, p. 229. Buckingham, p. 502. Pococke, p. 387.

with reliefs."* The breadth of the church is two hundred and seventy-eight feet, and on the south side there is a handsome portico: the whole length was computed at three hundred and fifty-two feet. Without the church, on the back part of the altar, are two rows of six Corinthian pillars, &c. The cloisters, or cells for the monks, have been very extensive, with a grandeur proportioned to that of the church.†

"The reputed sanctity of the place invited a vast number of deluded enthusiasts to settle around it, so that the whole hill, together with a great part of the plain below, was covered with buildings. From the ruins that are found in all these countries, it appears that the meanest buildings had been of solid architecture. Several villages in the vicinity, now in ruins, were built of hewn stone."‡

Ruins of cities and of churches are numerous in the interior of Northern Syria, as well as along the Phœnician coast; and in passing to a review of them, we may cast a glance at another convent in the north of Syria, and at thick-set churches, now in ruins, dedicated to other saints. The unimpeachable testimony of Maundrell, who was chaplain to the British factory at Aleppo, may be here adduced; and the preamble may tend to show that idolatry, or superstition, is not a solitary vice.

"We went to Sydonaiia, a Greek convent about four hours distant from Damascus, to the northward, or north by east. This place was first founded and endowed by the Emperor Justinian. It is (A.D. 1697) possessed by twenty Greek monks and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together, without any order or separation. There are upon this rock, and within a little distance round it, no less than sixteen churches or oratorios, dedicated to several names. The 1st, to St. John; 2d, to St. Paul; 3d, to St. Thomas; 4th, to St. Babylas; 5th, to St. Barbara; 6th, to St. Christopher; 7th, to St. Joseph; 8th, to St. Lazarus; 9th, to the Blessed Virgin; 10th, to St. Demetrius; 11th, to St. Saba; 12th, to St. Peter; 13th, to St. George; 14th, to all Saints; 15th, to the Ascension; 16th, to the Transfiguration of our Lord; from all which we may well conclude this place was held anciently in no small repute for sanctity. Many of these churches I actually visited, but

* Pococke, p. 170. † Drummond's Travels, p. 196, 197.
‡ Drummond, p. 195, 196. Pococke, p. 170.

found them so ruined and desolate that I had not courage to go to all."*

In a previous part of his work, the same author, after describing how, in the midst of the ruins of Tyre, there stands up one pile higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably of the Cathedral of Tyre, adds,

"I cannot omit an observation made by most of our company in this journey, viz., that in all the ruins of churches which we saw, though their other parts were totally demolished, yet the east end we always found standing and tolerably entire. Whether the Christians, when overrun by infidels, redeemed their altars from ruin with money; or whether even the barbarians, when they demolished the other parts of the churches, might voluntarily spare these, out of an awe and veneration; or whether they have stood thus long by virtue of some peculiar firmness in the nature of their fabric [the most likely supposition]; or whether some occult Providence has preserved them, as so many standing monuments of Christianity in these unbelieving regions, and presages of its future restoration, I will not determine. This only I will say, that we found it, in fact, so as I have described, in all the ruined churches that came in our way, being perhaps not fewer than one hundred; nor do I remember ever to have seen one instance to the contrary. This might justly seem a trifling observation, were it founded upon a few examples only; but it being a thing so often, and, indeed, universally observed by us, throughout our whole journey, I thought it must needs proceed from something more than blind chance, and might very well deserve this animadversion."†

And it does well deserve notice, and animadversion too. Whatever be its cause, the fact is as striking as it is true. Of such walls of churches in regions not visited by Maundrell, the reader has already heard, and of niches for statues still visible where altars have been overthrown. The eyes of the Lord are set continually upon the land; and it is justly said that the remarkable fact, as Maundrell thought, must proceed from something more than blind chance. Not a sparrow can fall to the ground without the Father. It was not without him that hundreds, or, rather, thousands of churches fell in Syria; and it was not by chance, we may well say, that the only part, if any, that alike in all uniform-

* Maundrell's Travels, p. 176, 177. May 2. † Ibid., p. 65, 66. March 20.

ly stood, was that which showed, and shows as a witness still, that each church which fell had an altar, if not, also, each altar a niche. Maundrell, a most correct observer of facts, looked on Samaria without seeing or noting the fulfilment of any of the striking predictions concerning it. Had he regarded the prophecy which assigns the cause of all the predicted desolations, even *Because they have changed the ordinance and broken the everlasting covenant, therefore hath the curse devoured the earth*, and they that dwell therein are desolate,* &c., he might have laid vain conjectures aside, and have looked on the only standing wall of each fallen church amid desolate cities as a monument and memorial of the fact.

In journeying from Antioch to Aleppo, Captains Irby and Mangles "passed many sites of ancient towns, castles, banks, temples, &c., all of the lower empire, and very uninteresting: on one occasion they counted eleven sites in a rich plain, with a firm loamy soil, now left desolate and uninhabited."†

But, reverting to the cities nearer to the ancient borders of Israel, we may trace them in their ruins from south to north, so far as these have been discovered and are most worthy of notice, though a transient view is all that can be taken.

The banks of the Orontes were adorned with other noble cities besides Antioch. Near its source, Mr. Buckingham saw, at a distance of about three miles, a ruined town (El-Jussee), said to be a large city, with pillars, aqueducts, and castles, but now entirely deserted. About two miles below it, on the plain, was another town, which retained some inhabitants.‡

In the valley of Bekaa stand the noble ruins of the ancient *Baalbec* (Heliopolis, or Baalath of Scripture). Neither in a general view of the ruins of Syria, nor in a prospective view of the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, are they to be overlooked, though comparatively well known. Many other cities, when raised again, shall be numbered for the first time among the cities of that kingdom, as the throne of David had fallen before the stones which formed them were taken from their original quarry; but, built as it was by Solomon, Baalbec has a prescriptive title to a place in the king-

* Isa., xxiv., 5. † Travels, p. 231.
‡ Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 490.

Lee Canas

ELEVATION of the PORTICO of the TEMPLE of the SUN at PALMYRA (Restored)

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dom; and its columns, worthy of a world's fame, and its temple walls a world's wonder, still stand to adorn a city of Israel, even while its everlasting columns endure, and the covenant of the Lord shall stand fast with his people, as his ordinance shall stand with the sun, to the worship of which, in pagan times, which these pillars have outlived, Heliopolis, as the name imports, was dedicated.

Burckhardt and Buckingham decline the description of its ruins, because the task, to which his graphic powers were equal, had been so well and so faithfully executed by Volney. His description, though familiar to some, may be partly given, for the sake of other readers. An infidel may describe a pagan temple, and yet the glory may redound, as yet it shall, to the Holy One of Israel, who has placed such ruins within the heritage of Jacob.

"At the entrance of the city (Baalbec) we perceive a ruined wall, flanked with square towers, which ascends the declivity to the right, and traces the precincts of the ancient city. Over this wall, which is only 10 or 12 feet high, we have a view of those void spaces, and heaps of ruins which are the invariable appendage of every Turkish city; but what principally attracts our attention is a large edifice on the left, which, by its lofty walls and rich columns, manifestly appears to be one of those temples which antiquity has left for our admiration. These ruins, which are among the most beautiful, and in the best preservation of any in Asia, deserve to be particularly mentioned.

"To form a just idea of them, we must conceive ourselves descending from the interior of the town. After crossing the rubbish and huts with which it is filled, we arrive at a vacant place which appears to have been a square; there, in front towards the west, we perceive a grand view, consisting of two pavilions ornamented with pilasters, joined at their bottom angle by a wall 160 feet in length. This front commands the open country from a sort of terrace, on the edge of which we distinguish with difficulty the bases of twelve columns, which formerly extended from one pavilion to the other, and formed a portico. The principal gate is obstructed by heaps of stones; but that obstacle surmounted, we enter an empty space which is an hexagonal court of 180 feet diameter. This court is strewed with broken columns, mutilated capitals, and the remains of pilasters, entablatures, and cornices; around it is a row of ruined edifices,

which display all the ornaments of the richest architecture. At the end of this court we perceive a still more extensive range of ruins, whose magnificence strongly excites curiosity. To have a full prospect of these, we must ascend a slope, which led by steps to this gate, and we then arrive at the entrance of a square court much more spacious than the former (350 feet wide, and 336 long). The end of this court first attracts the eye, where six enormous and majestic columns render the scene amazingly grand and picturesque. Another object, not less interesting, is a second range of columns to the left, which appear to have been part of the peristyle of a temple; but, before we pass thither, the edifices which enclose this court on each side demand particular attention. They form a sort of gallery which contains various chambers, seven of which may be reckoned in each of the principal wings, viz., two in a semicircle, and five in an oblong square. The bottoms of these apartments still retain pediments of niches and tabernacles, the supporters of which are destroyed. At length we arrive at the foot of the six columns, and there first conceive all the boldness of their elevation, and the richness of their workmanship. Their shafts are 21 feet 8 inches in circumference, and 58 high, so that the total height, including the entablatures, is from 71 to 72 feet. The sight of this superb ruin, thus solitary and unaccompanied, at first strikes us with astonishment; but in a more attentive examination we discover a series of foundations, which mark an oblong square of 268 feet in length and 146 wide, and which, it seems probable, was the peristyle of a grand temple, the original purpose of this whole structure. It presented to the great court —that is, to the east—a front of 10 columns, with 19 on each side, which, with the other six, make in all 54. The ground on which it stood was an oblong square, in a level with this court, but narrower than it, so that there was only a terrace of twenty seven feet wide round the colonnade. The esplanade this produces fronts the open country, towards the west, by a sloping wall of about thirty feet. This descent, as you approach the city, becomes less steep, so that the foundation of the pavilion is on a level with the termination of the hill, whence it is evident that the whole ground of the courts has been raised by art. Such was the former state of this edifice; but the southern side of the grand temple was afterward blocked up to build a smaller

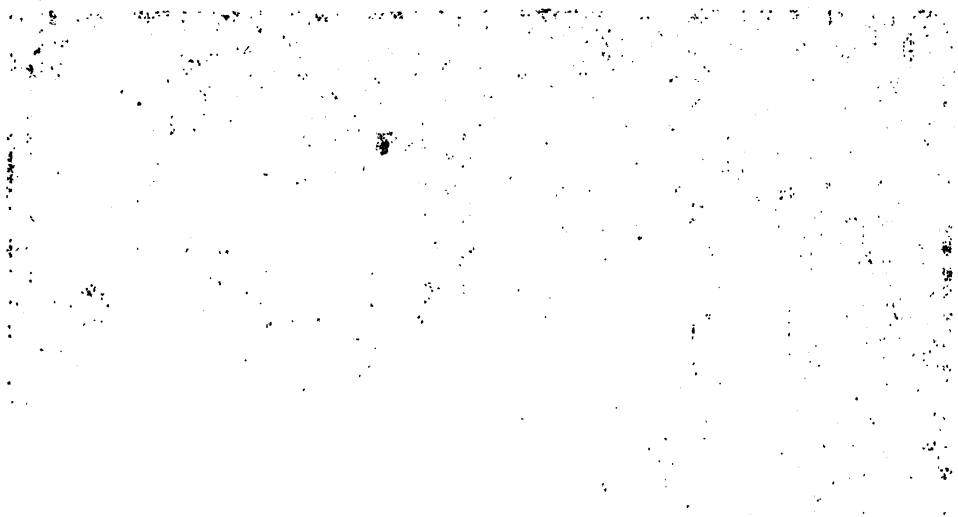
Bernatz

Prud'homme

TEMPLE AT PAESTUM.

HARPER & BROTHERS

R. Sadtler Printer



one, the peristyle and walls of which still remain. This temple, situated some feet lower than the other, presents a side of 13 columns by 8 in front (in all 34), which are likewise of the Corinthian order; their shafts are 15 feet 8 inches in circumference, and 44 in height. The building they surround is an oblong square, the front of which, facing the east, is out of the line of the left wing of the great court. To reach it, you must cross trunks of columns, heaps of stone, and a ruinous wall which now hides it. Having surmounted these obstacles, you arrive at the gate, where you may survey the enclosure which was once inhabited by a god; but, instead of the awful scene of a prostrate people, and a multitude of priests offering sacrifices, the sky, which is open from the falling in of the roof, only admits light to show a chaos of ruins, covered with dust and weeds. The walls, formerly encircled with all the ornaments of the Corinthian order, now present nothing but pediments of niches, and tabernacles, of which almost all the supporters are fallen to the ground. Between these niches is a range of fluted pilasters, whose capitals sustain a broken entablature, but what remains of it displays a rich frieze of foliage, resting on the heads of satyrs, horses, bulls, &c. Over this entablature was the ancient roof, which was 57 feet wide and 110 in length. The walls by which it was supported are 31 feet high, and without a window. We can form no idea of the ornaments of this roof, except from the fragments lying on the ground; but it could not have been richer than the gallery of the peristyle. Nothing can surpass the workmanship of the columns; they are joined without any cement, yet there is not room for the blade of a knife between their interstices. After so many ages they in general retain their original whiteness. But what is still more astonishing is the enormous stones which composed the sloping wall. To the west the second layer is formed of stones which are from 28 to 35 feet long, by about nine in height. Over this layer, at the northwest angle, there are three stones which alone occupy a space of 175½ feet, viz., the first, 58 feet 7 inches; the second, 58 feet 11; and the third, exactly 58 feet, and each of these is 12 feet thick. A stone still lies there, hewn on three sides, which is 69 feet 2 inches long, 12 feet 10 inches broad, and 13 feet 3 inches in thickness. By what means could the ancients move these masses? This is, no doubt, a problem in mechanics curious to re-

solve.* "Three of the stones," says Maundrell, "we took the pains to measure, and found them to extend sixty-one yards in length; one, twenty-one; the other two, each twenty yards. These three stones lay in the same row, end to end. The rest of the wall was made also of great stones, but none, I think, so great as these. That which added to the wonder was, that these stones were lifted up into the wall more than twenty feet from the ground."†

If from the grave of Cæsarea or the heaps that cover it, marble baths could be constructed and a palace be adorned, and if a trifling repair, at slight expense, would suffice for the restoration of the magnificent port of Cæsarea, that has been choked with sand and lashed with waves for ages, surely the masses of ruins that cover Baalbec shall not lie forever undisturbed. If new arts were needed for their restoration instead of those that would seem to be lost, they are not now wanting; for new powers, which heathens knew not, are now in operation for the construction of edifices, sufficient, if needful, to raise, as feathers, burdens which a thousand slaves could not bear. The wondrous walls which, for so many ages, have witnessed pagan worship and an apostate faith, have not stood so long in vain, but shall yet resound to holier strains, and Heliopolis (the city of the sun) be a city on which the Sun of righteousness shall shine, and the Holy One of Israel be adored. And those noble and beauteous pillars, on which such admirable work has been wrought by human hands, which yet stand around a fallen temple, erected in honour of false gods, whose broken images are strewed on its base, may be looked on as the emblem of a nobler workmanship than that of man, and of the fulfilment of a better promise than ever pagans knew: *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and I will write upon him the name of the city of my God.*‡

"In the days of paganism both *Emesa* and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled in poetic style to the summits of Mount Libanus, while the ruins of Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveller."§ It is with the cities

* Volney's Travels, chap. xxix., English trans. † Maundrell, p. 156.
‡ Rev., iii., 12. § Gibbon, vol. ix., c. li., p. 404.

as with the land of Israel—a few gleaning grapes are left when the vintage is past—two or three berries on the utmost bough, when the olive has been shaken. Many other cities of Syria were in ancient times far more renowned than Baalbec, which claims a first place among ruins. It stands so far as yet erect, a witness of what was; and, without such ocular demonstration of their ancient magnificence, the records of their greatness might have ranked among fabulous tales, were not the structure of an ancient wall a problem to the moderns. But a variety of fortune, no less singular than that noted by Gibbon, has marked, in a different manner, the checkered fate of Emesa and Heliopolis, now Homs and Baalbec. While the latter has scarcely an inhabitant, the former has its thousands. Siege after siege, and earthquake after earthquake, have laid its glory in the dust, till its great temple must be sought for in the ground, without a vestige to guide the digger of its grave. "No more remains," says Mr. Buckingham, "of the ancient city of Emesa, than perhaps the basework of the castle, a sepulchral monument, and some granite columns and stone sarcophagi, scattered up and down, and sometimes used in the construction of the more modern buildings. The population of the town is thought to amount to 10,000, of whom 8000 are Moslems."*

But Emesa has still a monument and memorial of its strength, and of the vast expenditure of wealth and labour at which cities of Syria in ancient times were fortified or adorned. "The castle (see Plate) stands on a high, artificial mound of earth, the sides of which were originally cased all round with masonry, rising in a steep slope, resembling the lower part of a pyramid. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, lined also with a wall of stone. It is now entirely ruined."† The mound, faced with stone, is encompassed by a fosse twenty feet deep and one hundred broad, over which is a bridge of several arches. The top of the hill may be half a mile in circumference.‡

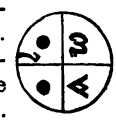
The ruins of a very large convent, as seen by Pococke, part of the walls, the line of the streets, and the pedestals of some columns at *Restoun*, seem to mark the site of the ancient *Arethusia*.§

* Buckingham's Travels, p. 496, 497.
† Ibid., p. 494.
‡ Mr. Robinson's Travels, vol. ii., p. 241.
§ Pococke, p. 142. Irby and Mangles, p. 254.

A few ruined habitations beside the castle *Medyk*, a mosque enclosed by a wall, and several columns scattered about, are supposed to occupy the site of *Apamea*, which, as a sister city, ranked with Antioch and Seleucia.

Maarah, which stayed the march of Crusaders, and tempted its victor to remain, has nothing but a khan or temporary lodging-place to attract the notice of the passing traveller, and its towers and walls, razed to their foundations in the beginning of the twelfth century,* yet lie as they were cast down, level with the ground. A poor little village bears the name of Maarah.† A century ago were to be seen a beautiful square tower of hewn stone, and a little ruin of a very old church, not mentioned by recent travellers.‡

Between Maarah and Aleppo are several sites of ancient towns. The mountain of Richa is full of the ruins of cities.§ Near to the village of *El-Bara* are the ruins of what Mr. Drummond denotes "a once glorious city, fully as large as Aleppo, and greatly superior to it in point of magnificence, as then appeared by the ruins. Here have been several churches highly ornamented, particularly one which was very large; great numbers of columns were then to be seen, with many pyramidal monuments." In a grotto (or sepulchre) near the ruins "was an episcopal figure with his crosier in his right hand, and on each side of him was an angel holding a laurel wreath in one hand and an olive-branch in the other."‖ In the immediate vicinity of the town Burckhardt met with a sepulchral cave with an inscription. The annexed figure, in relief, was over it.



"We saw," he adds, "the same figure, with variations, over the gates of several buildings of these ruins; the episcopal staff is found in all of them. The town walls on the east side are yet standing; they are very neatly built with small stones. The ruins extend for about half an hour from south to north, and consist of a number of public buildings, churches, and private habitations, the walls and roof of some of which are still standing."¶ But the episcopal city, as it would seem to have been, though of unknown name, must have fallen greatly into decay since it was visited by Pococke and Drummond, for Burckhardt saw no building worth noticing except three tombs. Whatever city it may have been, situated in a rugged mountain, the

* See above, p. 178.
† Mr. Robinson's Trav., vol. ii., p. 248.
‡ Pococke, p. 144.
§ Burckhardt, p. 130.
‖ Drummond's Trav., p. 235.
¶ Burckhardt, p. 130, 131.

supposed seat of anchorites, the laurel and the olive-branch were there carved in vain in the hands of graven angels, and the city has met a fate of which these are not the emblems. It has followed Chorazin.

But, though the ruins near El-Bara might recently have shown that it had once been a city larger and more magnificent than Aleppo, the ancient greatness of many cities of Syria, like the desolate Cæsarea, cannot be judged of by what they are, nor can the richness of the ancient produce of the regions around them be known by what is now to be seen. Of these truths, the once famous Calchis, or Kinnesrin, may supply an illustration—one instance out of hundreds.

Calchis, in remote ages the Zobah (Aram-Zobah) of the Hebrews, was the capital of the province of Calcidine, to which it gave its name. Its opulence and the fertility of the circumjacent territory are manifest by the tax or redeeming tribute which it paid to the Saracens, including, besides four hundred weight of silver and as much of gold, and two thousand robes of silk, five thousand ass-loads of figs and olives. "I surveyed its vestiges," says Mr. Drummond, "for I cannot call them ruins, as nothing like a house is seen standing; though we found many great squared stones and foundations, particularly those of walls, which are nine [or, as stated by Pococke, about ten] feet thick, and occupy a great extent of space. The castle, or citadel, has covered a very large hill adjoining to the city, and was surrounded by a double wall."* All is a confused heap of ruins.† "From the castle-hill we enjoyed a delightful view of the champaign country, extending to a prodigious distance all around; but not one fiftieth part of it was cultivated."‡ Different was the view in the sight of David, and afterward of Solomon, from the hill of Zobah, when the golden shields of the servants of Hadad-ezer lay at their feet, or were suspended in the palace of Jerusalem as a trophy of the victory of Zion's king; and different, too, shall be the view from the hill of Zobah, when all the enemies of the Son of David shall be subdued before him, and the kingdom be restored to Israel, and Calcidine shall be given, not to the sons of Ishmael for a prey, but to the sons of Isaac in everlasting possession, for each man to sit under his own vine and under his fig-tree.

* Drummond's Trav., p. 235.
† Pococke, p. 149.
‡ Drummond's Trav., p. 236.

Harem was a strong fortress in the days of the Crusaders, when it suffered many a fierce siege, and was the scene of many a bloody strife, as its possession was contested by the alternate lords of Syria. In last century, the remains of a palace and many good edifices, the castle upon the top of a hill, the ascent of which was paved with square hewn stones, a neat chapel excavated from the rock, a pretty belfry, and the remains of outworks surrounding the whole,* showed that it had been a residence worthy of princes, who often sought shelter within its walls. The frequent foundations and ruins of villages testify to the ancient populousness of the adjoining territory. We have seen how it resisted the assaults of the King of Jerusalem, and how many princes and nobles, with the King of Armenia, strove in vain to deliver it when besieged by Noureddin. A different tale has now to be told; and it has ceased, as it now is, to be "an agreeable place." "It is now," as described by Mr. Robinson, "a complete ruin, and the only place affording shelter was a stable, to obtain possession of which, we were obliged to turn out some poor gipsies, called here Kurphadh; these Kurphadh are spread over the whole of Anadolia and Syria. We were sufficiently punished for this act of injustice by the restless night we spent, it being impossible to get any sleep, owing to the swarms of fleas which infested the place."† When visited by Mr. Buckingham in 1816, Harem was inhabited by about twenty Mohammedan families, governed by their own sheik. The castle stands on the summit of an oblong pyramidal mound, exactly like that of Homs, and like it, too, cased with stone in the sides. Near to Harem he saw a considerable number of scattered fragments of former buildings, and on an eminence near this stood the portion of a small font more complete. The base was formed of very large stones and good masonry, and in a lower doorway was a fine Roman arch still perfect. "On these foundations was erected a modern building, appearing to have been deserted in an unfinished state; for, though prepared for a pent roof, none had ever been put on it. Such trifling features are too characteristic of the country and its government to be omitted; for here it may be said, with the strictest propriety, that *he who begins to build* a house knows not whether himself or another shall finish it, and that he who sows is not always sure of reaping.

* Drummond's Trav., p. 182. † Robinson's Travels, vol. ii., p. 272.

Large hewn blocks, some sculptured stones, &c., continued to line our road to nearly half a mile, and half an hour beyond their discontinuance we passed through other ruins of a similar kind."*

Corus, the Cyrrus of Ptolemy, and in later ages Kyros, a metropolitan see, of which Theodoret was bishop, was the capital of the province of Cyrrestice, in which were nineteen cities. The ruined metropolis shows some signs that it was once a noble city. It stood upon the plain surface of a hill, the site of the castle being the summit of a higher. From the foundations of the walls that still remain, the castle and the city seem to have been very large, walled very strongly with huge square stones. Within are observable the ruins, pillars, &c., of many noble buildings, among which it is doubtful if the cathedral be distinguishable. The whole is now in ruins.† There is reason to believe that every house was built of excellent well-polished square stones, which may be called a sort of marble.‡ One noble square building, of great capacity, was encompassed with good walls, having five gates. A noble row of pillars, of great length, led to another grand building, now of undefinable form. But there are the remains of a very superb theatre, built in good taste, the front of which extends to seventy-two yards.§

Among the cities of Cyrrestice, Hierapolis had a place.‖ Strabo relates that Bambyce was called Hierapolis, and that Atargatis, the Syrian goddess, was worshipped there.¶ Pliny, in like manner, states that Bambyce was called by another name, Hierapolis, and by the Syrians Magog, where the monstrous Atargatis (prodigiosa Atargatis)** was worshipped.†† Of the once famous city of Bambyce, the chief scene of the worship of a heathen god or goddess, nothing but "miserable vestiges" are to be seen. But these show that it was full three miles in circumference, surrounded by walls extremely well built, of fine polished stone both inside and out, some parts of which, as seen by Pococke, then remained entire, nine feet thick, and above thirty feet high. The wall was defended by towers at the distance of fifty

* Buckingham, p. 569. † Maundrell, p. 211.
‡ Drummond's Trav., p. 201. § Ibid. ‖ See above, p. [illegible].
¶ ἡ Βαμβύκη Ἱεραν πολιν καλουσιν, εν ἡ τιμωσι την Συριαν θεον την Ἀταργατιν.—Strabo, lib. xvi., p. 1062.
** So called, in all likelihood, from her monstrous form, the head of a woman and the body of a fish, the reputed mother of the gods.
†† Plin., Nat. Hist., lib. v., p. 19.

paces from each other. The four gates of the city were about fifteen feet wide, and defended by a semicircular tower on each side. But here, as throughout the land, the Lord has made of a city a heap—of a defenced city a ruin. The few travellers who have visited it may doubt or dispute, as concerning Corus, about the site of a temple, or a theatre, or a pagan or papal altar. Its magnificence is gone, but the polished stones remain; and although not only Cilicia and Cappadocia, but even Arabia and Babylonia, contributed to the support of its magnificent temple, the Lord hath famished Atargatis (Ashteroth), "the abomination of the Sidonians," even as he will *famish all the gods of the earth.** But the tribute may be turned to Israel at last, and all that remains of Bambyce, the polished stones of its walls, its temples, its theatres, and its houses, razed from their foundations, may be formed into a city, which, like the horses' bells in Jerusalem, shall be *holiness to the Lord*,† and Hierapolis (a holy city) be at last worthy of its name.

Jerabees, on the banks of the Euphrates, which had probably its name from the worship of the Syrian god Jerabolus, is now, like the very grave of idolatry, an oblong field of ruins, distinguished only by the higher elevation, as in other idolatrous cities, of the supposed sites of a temple, churches, or other public buildings,‡ the fit monuments of a worship that, over all the world, shall perish forever, when the cities of Israel shall be raised again, and the Euphrates be the border of a land that shall then be a *blessing in the midst of the earth.*§

At Utch-Kilesi three churches are the ruins of houses which had once been edifices of some pretensions. Even in passing over an inhospitable district, the traveller constantly discovers traces of early Christianity—ecclesiastical and monastic edifices, often of great beauty; remains of large villages, with deep cisterns and reservoirs hewn out of the solid rock.‖

All that remains of the once celebrated city of Samoeisat, on the northeastern extremity of Syria, the seat of the King of Commagena, and an episcopal city in the Middle Ages, is a partly artificial mound, and the fragmentary remains of a castle on its summit. The modern town is a poor place of about four hundred houses.¶

* Zech., ii., 11. † Ibid., xiv., 20. ‡ Pococke, p. 165. § Isa., xix., 24.
‖ Ainsworth's Travels, vol. i., p. 286–7. ¶ Ibid., 285.

While, on the east of the Jordan, towns ruined or deserted have recently been disclosed to view in far greater numbers than were ever recorded by Grecian or Roman geographers, many cities were enumerated by them, or had their place in the lists of episcopal cities in Christian times, in other parts of Syria, of which the ruins have yet to be sought. These, *utterly destroyed*, exist now only in their undistinguishable or undiscovered ruins. But they shall rise —as they have fallen—at the word of the Lord.

Besides the ruins specially noted in the preceding cursory view, the reader may have marked the uniform testimony which is borne to the fact that "the country is full of the sites of ruins, whether on the south of Judea, or on the coast of Phœnicia, or in the interior or the north of Syria;" and if he compare the lists of ancient cities previously given, he will not fail to perceive that many a name still wants a spot to mark it, while ruins like those of El-Bara, and many heaps of unknown name, have lost their genealogy, or have not been identified with the cities of their origin. The less distinguished that they are, of *no note*—as the ruins of Askelon were accounted till Ibrahim Pasha sought to restore a city, and as those of Cæsarea appeared till Djezzar Pasha wanted beautiful marble columns to ornament a palace, and the port of Seleucia with the ruins of the city, not worth while to travel half an hour to see, till another pasha purposed its restoration, and a modern engineer gave in an estimate—the cities because hid from view, and the ports because they were filled up, have lain secure in the dormancy of ages, to awaken at the same voice that bade them repose. The cities of the Haouran, constructed of the hardest stones, which are bound together, though uncemented, with the firmness of a rock, have withstood the ravages of time, which has passed over them in the exposure of ages with the lightness of a painter's brush, and only tinged them with a fairer hue. But the cities on the other side of the Jordan, as the caverned but inexhaustible quarries and partial ruins show, were constructed of stones varying from compact limestone, slightly shading into marble, as in the hills of Judea, to fine yellow freestone, of softer texture, as in the ruins near El-Bara; and destined as they were both to fall and to be built again, their fractured walls have not stood exposed to a slow decay from age to age, but razed from their foundations, as the towns of Judea by the Romans, or cast down by earthquakes as by

the hand of the Lord, covered with thorns, and guarded by wild beasts, the last word of the Lord concerning them shall be true as all the rest; and cities of Israel are yet ready at his voice to rise again, fresh as when they fell.

For many generations desolations were to continue, yet there was an appointed term for them all, when the Lord would comfort Zion, and *her cities, through prosperity, should* finally *be spread abroad.** He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root. Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit. Yet the defenced city shall be left, and the habitation forsaken, and left like a wilderness; there shall the calf feed, and there shall he lie down, and consume the branches thereof.† "Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers, yea, upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city. Because the palaces shall be forsaken, the multitude of the city shall be left; the forts and towers shall be for dens forever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture for flocks, *until* the Spirit be poured upon us from on high. Then my people shall dwell in a peaceful habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places."‡

It is not, then, till the curses pass away, and the blessing come, when Israel shall take hold of the strength of his God,§ that we can look for the proof of what these cities were, or the *evidence*, save of faith, of what they still shall be. But we have seen some token of the ancient greatness, as well as of the vast number, of the cities that lay within the land of Israel as anciently possessed, and also within the bounds of Solomon's dominion.

Numerous these ruins manifestly are, as those of the cities or towns of any land; but fallen as they lie, the many once noble cities of Syria may be owned as such rather by the ancient records concerning them, than by looking on their graves overgrown with rank weeds, or searching for their ruins among thorns. The desolation to which they have been brought down is the visible issue of the iniquity with which the land was defiled; and, as we have seen, enough is left to show the justice of the judgment, and to meet its cause, as announced in Scripture. And we may take a parting glance at these ruins, by looking for a moment on another city in its desolation, in which, as in Baalbec and Gerasa, enough is also left to show, as no other country can,

* Zech., i., 17.
† Isa., xxvii., 6, 10.
‡ Ibid., xxxii., 13–15, or 18.
§ Ibid., xxvii., 5.

Las Casas

Prud'homme

GRAND GALLERY OF PALMYRA.

HARPER & BROTHERS

that cities of surpassing splendour once lay within the bounds of the kingdom of Israel.

The greatest days which Rome in all her glory ever saw, were those in which captive generals or kings were led in triumph through her streets, and the richest treasures and most splendid spoils were borne in procession before her victorious consuls or emperors. The greatest of these, as recorded in Roman annals, was that in which Zenobia graced the triumph of Aurelian, and "the Queen of the East," who had reigned at Palmyra, bowed her neck beneath the yoke of Rome. The spectacle, which called forth the shouts of admiring citizens and slaves, was but the idle pageant of an hour. Not a fragment of her royal city could be transferred to Rome. But its ruins yet remain, and hundreds of its columns are yet erect; and when the way of the kings of the East shall be prepared, and the kingdom be returned to the daughter of Jerusalem, and the bands of her neck be loosed by the triumphant King who leads captivity captive, the ruins of Palmyra, whose fame has spread throughout the world, shall be an enduring monument of Israel's glory, while *the voice of harpers and of trumpeters shall be heard no more, and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all** in the city that triumphed over Jerusalem and Palmyra, and gloried greatly in the day of their fall.

Palmyra not only lay within the borders of Solomon's kingdom, or of the proper heritage of Israel, but was also a city which he built; and when the kingdom shall return, it doubtless shall be raised again. Its ruins, well known, need not be described; but, having heard much from many a traveller of *hewn stones* in heaps where the cities of Israel stood, we may see them as they lie uncovered in Palmyra, or still reposing in its walls, as in those of the gate of Antioch. The cities of Israel, whether cast down by earthquakes or by the hand of man, fell not, like fractured walls, in useless pieces, in whose fragments the stones are imbedded as before, and unfit to be built up again, but the uncemented stones lie singly, ready for the builder's hand.

But the Lord will do better to Israel than at the beginning, and better than He did to Greeks or Romans in a land not theirs. A Protestant king, but of late, ignorant or forgetful, perhaps, that far more than a hundred cathedrals lie in ruins in Syria, boasted that the quarry would be opened

* Rev., xviii., 23.

again to renew the building of the cathedral of Cologne, suspended since the days of the Reformation; but, though that shall be in vain, if experience deceive not, the owls and the bats shall not be scared in vain by the echoes awakened by many a resounding hammer breaking the long silence that has rested in all the quarries from end to end of the land of Israel, wherever ruins yield not hewn stones in sufficient abundance and perfection for the raising again of one and all of the cities that have fallen, and for enlarging tenfold those that still remain.

True it is concerning the cities as concerning the land, that the glory of Jacob has been made thin, and the fatness of his flesh has become lean. Yet gleaning grapes have been left in it, as the shaking of an olive-tree, two or three berries in the top of the uttermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof, as said the Lord God of Israel. True it is that *the strong cities have become as a forsaken bough, and an uppermost branch which they left, and there is a desolation.* Yet, however cursorily we have surveyed the ruined cities within the chartered bounds of Israel's inheritance, in these very ruins there is as the gleaning of grapes when the harvest is done, two or three berries on the top of the uttermost bough, four or five in the outmost branches thereof. And even thus, comparing some remnants of ruins in Gerasa, Kanouat, Baalbec, and Palmyra, with the streets or edifices of the cities of any modern kingdom, may we not say that the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim is better than the vintage of Eliezer: and may we not ask where, on any olive-tree fresh and in full bearing, are four or five berries to be seen, like those which hang on the outmost branches of the shaken olive of Israel? And what shall Israel be when the good olive-tree shall again blossom and bud, and bear fruit far richer than before—not for the renovation of cities only, but for the healing of the nations—and Israel's God shall be Israel's glory? Then the monuments of a departed paganism and popery, first reared by those who trusted in the gods that could not save or in the intercessors that could not hear, shall be the antique ornaments of the renovated cities of Israel, and Immanuel's land forever bear the trophies of his victory over the gods of the heathen, and over that wicked one whom He will yet destroy with the word of His mouth and with the brightness of his coming.*

* Isa., xvii., 6.

CHAPTER XII.

NATURAL FERTILITY OF JUDEA, AND OF THE NORTH OF SYRIA.

WHEN the Israelites were in the wilderness of Paran, Moses, at the command of the Lord, sent twelve men, one from each tribe, who were the heads of the children of Israel, to *spy out the land;* and he said unto them, *Get you this way southward, and go up into the mountain, and see the land what it is; and the people that dwell therein, whether they be weak or strong, few or many, and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in tents or in strongholds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not; and bring of the fruit of the land.* They came again, two of the men *bearing upon a staff one cluster of grapes, and they brought of the pomegranates and figs,* and they all testified that *the land flowed with milk and honey, and that the cities were walled and very great.**

In the preceding pages we have seen something of the intermediate history and state of the land from that day to this; and coming at last to espy the land from south to north, it is not, as an appropriate emblem of it all, that one cluster of grapes has to be cut down and to be borne on a staff between two. But single gleaning grapes, left after the vintage, may everywhere be gathered to show, bare and desolate as it is, what fruit the land has borne, and may yet bear again.

The various features of its desolation, according to each and all the predicted judgments or curses of a broken covenant, which have come upon the land, the writer has elsewhere shown. The subject is now familiar to many, and the truth of the prophetic word is attested by each succeeding traveller who visits it.

As connected with the Abrahamic covenant respecting the everlasting possession by his seed of their promised inheritance, our proper theme here is the natural fertility and capability of high cultivation—notwithstanding the existing

* Numbers, xiii., 1, 2, 17-23.

desolation—of the land west of the Jordan and north of Dan, as previously we viewed that of the regions east of the Jordan.

*The hill-country of Judea,** which has been waste for ages past, as seen from the plain, with the face of bare rocks presented to view, seems not only *utterly desolate* as soon as the summer's sun has scorched any partial vernal verdure, but absolutely sterile; and great, as the author can testify, is the traveller's astonishment on contemplating the wild scene; and he marvels how they could ever have been covered with the shadow of the vine. They are as desolate or waste as the cities of Judah. The *curse* has lighted fearfully indeed, but equally on both. These hills want the grandeur of precipitous mountains, whose bare peaks and towering ridges set forth the sublimity of the works of God, till the mind is elevated as the mountain top penetrates the sky, and may well feel a trace of its own higher nature in the rising thought of Him who hath laid the foundations of the everlasting hills. The sublime in such a scene may fairly take the place of the beautiful, and awe, if it cannot captivate, the spectator. But the rounded yet rocky hills of Judea swell out in empty, unattractive, and even repulsive barrenness (could their name be forgotten), with nothing to relieve the eye or captivate the fancy; and worthy they seem of being *taken up in the lips of talkers*, and of being, as they have been, an *infamy of the people*.† The very labour expended on them of old completes their apparent sterile desolateness. Had they been left untouched by human hands, the mark of infamy could not, in the natural course of things, as with other hills in a kindred clime, have been stamped upon them as it is. The sloping mountains, in their natural form, might have been clothed with nature's verdure, a fitting pasturage for sheep and goats; or else, though tenanted by wild beasts, they might, however uncultivated, have been clothed in beauty like the mountains of Gilead, that lie on the opposite side of the valley. Bare though they had been, the winds of heaven and the birds of the air could scarcely have but carried seeds of wild flowers and fruit where there is soil sufficient for their growth, that the nakedness of the hills might have been wholly clothed, but that of the rocky *wilderness of Judea*. All is now alike a wilderness; and covered as these mountains

* Luke, i., 39, 65. † Ezek., xxxvi., 3

are with terraces, whose bare fronts alone are to be seen, the bald hills, looked on at a short distance or from beneath, present at first sight one uniform aspect of sterility, which seems to bid defiance to cultivation, and to say that the blessings of God never rested, nor, without a miracle, could rest on a scene so desolate and repulsive.

But they frown on every passer-by only because the Lord has frowned on them. And at the sight of them, blighted by the written curses of the covenant, which have been transferred from the book of the Lord to the mountains of Israel, the reflecting mind may be struck with a deeper awe than that which the grandest scenes of nature can inspire, which, speak as they may, cannot bring His voice so near, or tell more plainly what the Lord hath wrought, as these echoing mountains, like the voices of the dead from their graves, respond to every predicted judgment, *Thus saith the Lord.*

These words, which preface the judgments which have come in all their terribleness, preface also the promises which shall be fulfilled in all their truth; and the mountains of Israel have yet to respond to the voice of the Lord in a manner as different from what they now do, as the blessings of the new covenant differ from the curses of the old. "Prophesy unto the mountains of Israel, and say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord: thus saith the Lord God, Because the enemy hath said against you, Aha, even the ancient places are ours in possession, therefore prophesy and say, *thus saith the Lord God, Because they have made you desolate, and ye are taken up in the lips of talkers, and are an infamy of the people; therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God, Thus saith the Lord God to the mountains and to the hills, to the rivers and to the valleys, to the desolate wastes and to the cities that are forsaken, which became a prey and derision to the residue of the heathen that are round about you; therefore thus saith the Lord God, I have lifted up mine hand,* surely the heathen that are about you, they shall bear their shame. But ye, *O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people of Israel;* for they are at hand to come. For, behold, *I am for you, and I will turn unto you, and ye shall be tilled and sown:* and I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, even all of it: and the cities shall be inhabited, and the wastes shall be builded;

and I will multiply upon you man and beast, and they *shall increase and bring fruit:* and I will settle you after your old estates, and *will do better unto you than at your beginnings:* and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, even my people Israel; and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be their inheritance. Neither will I cause men to hear in thee the shame of the heathen any more, neither shalt thou hear the reproach of the people any more. I will call for corn, and will *increase it, and I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field;* and the desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say, This land that was desolate is *become like the garden of Eden;* and the waste, and desolate, and ruined cities are fenced and inhabited. Then the heathen shall know that I the Lord plant that that was desolate: I the Lord have spoken, and I will do it."*

The mountains of Israel have indeed been taken up in the lips of talkers, and have become an infamy of the people. Voltaire speaks of Palestine with *derision*, describes it as one of the worst countries of Asia, and says that it could only have been accounted fertile by those who had wandered forty years in the wilderness; while at Beyrout the writer of these pages was told of one of his disciples, an infidel Frenchman, who a short time previously had landed there from Europe, on purpose to visit the land and mountains of Israel, that he might write a book to disprove utterly the scriptural accounts of their goodliness. His lips, like those of his master and many others besides, were those of a talker blaspheming the mountains of Israel. Not to satisfy himself had he come, for he well knew that the land reputed as the glory of all lands was a poor sterile country, one of the worst in Asia; but that others might be convinced, and the world might be enlightened, he was going to see with his own eyes the nakedness of the land, and prove the falsehood of the scriptural records concerning it. He went; but, entering the mountains, the extreme barrenness of which formed the fancied matter of his argument, the grand idea was dissipated at the sight, and the poor book, blighted in the conception, which, if it had been brought forth, was to have convinced the world, formed but the remembrance of an idle dream. The talker's mouth was

* Ezekiel, xxxvi., 4, 7–11, 12–15, 29, 30, 34–36.

closed, and the mute traveller returned literally silenced at the sight. Like the ruins of many cities, the hills of Judah are not what at first sight they seem, but a narrow inspection shows what they have been and may speedily become. Neither Askelon nor Cæsarea, nor the port of Seleucia, nor the princely Palmyra, are more ready for restoration than are those very hills that cannot be looked on without painful melancholy now, *to rejoice on every side* so soon as the curses that have scathed them shall have been taken away, and the blessings of a better covenant shall rest on the mountains of Israel. If the polished stones of ruined cities may well cry out for the coming of the time when, ceasing to be *dens and caves* for wild beasts, they shall be raised into dwellings for righteous men in days of peace and blessedness, so may the desolate hills of Judah, once clad with vines, but long scorched with an intenser heat than that of the burning sun, also cry out that these days may come when they shall cast off the briers and thorns that closely cover their terraced sides, and be clothed anew with vines, and pomegranates, and figs, and their infamy cease, and the stranger from a far land, no lying spy when speaking of their nakedness now, may longer ask wherefore hath the curse devoured the land? why hath the Lord done thus unto the land?

The stones of Cæsarea, and of numberless buildings in Palestine, are hewn or polished, but they lie as they fell, and no farther labour, as not needed, has been wrought on them. But the Word of the Lord concerning the mountains of Israel, when He shall turn unto them, and they shall not bear the shame of the heathen any more, promises *better* things than a mere renewal of their ancient fruitfulness. *He will plant that that was desolate; He will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field*, and *do better* unto them than at their beginnings. He hath spoken it, and He will do it. And the predicted desolations of many generations have, in respect both to the mountains and the plains, been converted into means of preparing the way for the blissful completion of the promise.

In regard to their ancient fertility, the most obvious and abundant proofs may be adduced. The author has passed along the Rhone, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube, where the terraced sides of the hills that skirt their banks

form some of the finest vine districts of Europe, but nowhere, in any of them, has he seen continuous terraces at all to be compared in number or extent with those which, by their multiplicity, astonish the traveller in the mountains of Israel. The largest number of successive terraces which he has anywhere else seen, covering for a short space the side of a hill (on the banks of the Rhine), was thirty-four. But the hill-country of Judea, with which the dreariest regions of the earth might now bear a comparison, is no sooner entered than a scene opens to view scarcely less marvellous than the kindred multiplicity of the cities of Syria, and the magnificence of the greatest of its ruins. As these remain to challenge the most splendid structure of modern cities, and as the frequency of ruins, betokening from their close vicinity what may be called congregated cities, is unparalleled by that of modern towns in any kingdom, so there is not another *hill-country* of Europe which could now be said to *drop down new wine*, as that of Judea did, and, according to the Word of the Lord, shall do again. In many places, and for many miles in extent, it is terraced throughout. On reaching it, the *astonishment* previously excited at the sight of barren mountains, seemingly unsusceptible of culture, is changed into still greater amazement at the sight of steep hills, converted into very numerous horizontal beds, rising successively till the top of the mountain forms the last, and ranging continuously on both sides of the valleys till every spot is embraced within them, from end to end, and from the summit to the base. The first hill on which the writer narrowly looked was of a conical form, wholly encircled with successive terraces, which doubtless repaid the immense labour of their construction by a vintage or a kindred produce, which no plain within a like circumference could even equal. After having passed through a long valley, terraced on both sides, the extremity of which was enclosed, as if by a widespread amphitheatre of terraced hills, on ascending a mountain pass he counted sixty-seven terraces, which occupied successively the whole side of the hill, while considerably higher mountains were manifestly terraced all over by a proportionally greater number.

The idea, as expressed in the *Evidence of Prophecy*, which the author had previously formed of these terraces, was, that the soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour, as stated by Dr. Clarke, and the impression on his

mind was that it had been carried from the rich plains beneath. In some instances they seemingly have thus been rendered productive, where the projecting calcareous rock, of which these mountains consist, afforded no space for soil prior to the formation of terraces; and in some such cases it is observable that the terrace, or top of the rock, when cut, inclined into the mountain, or downward, for the better retaining, perhaps, the moisture and the soil. But, in general, so far as witnessed, with comparatively unnoticeable exceptions, the soil is that of the hill-country itself; and on raising some large stones, they were found to be imbedded in rich dark earth, a *sharp* light soil best adapted for the vine, more than a foot in ascertained depth. In ancient times, the numberless terraces, on which such astonishing labour has been expended, even without the accumulation of soil, doubtless lacked not a sufficiency to cover the now barren mountains with fruit for the people Israel, when the scene must have been as beauteous as now it is blasted, and as fertile as now it is desolate. On inspecting the terraces, the marvel is not, as when the hills are approached, how they could ever have been crowned with plenty, but how they could have lain so long and so utterly desolate; and just as the labour would now be little to build a city of hewn stones lying ready on the spot, so the labour would now be comparatively less, not by a tenth, not by a hundredth, or sometimes not even by a thousandth part of what it originally was, to make the vines and other fruit-trees shoot forth their branches and yield their fruits, were the good time of the God of Israel come to turn again to the mountains of Israel.

Whether in the poorest or the richest regions of the land, terraces everywhere abound in places where the form of the hills suited their construction, and the produce was thereby ameliorated or increased in an inconceivable degree.

"Even in these parts," says Dr. Robinson, "where all is now desolate, as in the rugged sloping mountains between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, which present nothing but an aspect of dreary desolation, there are everywhere traces of the hands of the men of other days—terraces, walls, stones gathered along the paths, frequent cisterns, and the like. Most of the hills exhibit the remains of terraces built up around them, the undoubted sites of former cultivation."*

* Robinson and Smith, ii., 167.

The city of Samaria, situated on an oblong isolated hill *at the head of the fat valley*, trusted in its strength, and gloried in its riches. Purchased, as was the hill on which it stood, by Omri of Shemer, it is reserved, like all the mountains of Samaria, and the land over which it reigned, as the free gift of the Lord to his people Israel. *The beasts of the field*, according to the Word of the Lord, now feed on the grassy terraces which encircle the hill, like beds of down, all ready for cultivation; but, like those around it, whose terraced sides formed hanging gardens beautifully closing in the rich valley, they are yet reserved for their primitive use and for their ancient occupants; for in the same chapter in which the prophet announces the new covenant which the Lord will make with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, it is written, *The virgin of Israel shall yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria: the planters shall plant and eat them as common things. For, saith the Lord, I am a Father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born.** They shall possess the fields of Samaria.† Beyond the hills of Judea and the mountains of Samaria, and the ancient borders of the land in which the Israelites dwelt, "in the Lebanon of the Druses and the Maronites, the rocks, now abandoned to fir-trees and brambles, present us," says Volney, "in a thousand places with terraces, which prove that they were infinitely better cultivated and much more populous than in our days." The hills near Baalbec were anciently covered with vines; and in the days of Strabo, Laodicea on the coast, near to the extremity of the promised land, chiefly supplied Alexandria with its abundant wines, the vineyards in its vicinity then reaching almost to the very summits of the hills.

If we return again from the north of Syria to the south of Judea, and look from end to end of the land, *gleaning grapes*, though no more, may be found throughout it when the vintage is past; and the terraces, with few exceptions, are bare and bereft of all but the creeping thorns, which closely cover them and conceal the soil, while the rocky fronts are exposed to view.

The spies who went up from the wilderness of Zin to search the land whether it was good or bad, ascended by the south, and, after traversing it, came to Hebron: and the vale of Hebron, near to the cave of Machpelah, may yet, in

* Jeremiah, xxxi., 5. † Obadiah, 19.

the largeness and excellence of its grapes, outvie the environs of Bourdeaux, and the richest spots on the banks of the Rhine or of the Rhone. They still abound in the gardens near to the burying-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and cluster in all their native richness there, as if waiting the time when the covenant made with these patriarchal fathers shall be fulfilled, and when their children, faithful like themselves, shall *drink new wine* in another and better *kingdom* than the world has seen since the weeping parents of the human race, cast out of paradise, first tilled the earth that had been cursed for their sakes. Immense bunches of grapes, unripe, and not of full size, intermingled with the bright flowers of the pomegranate, hung over the fences of the vineyards of Hebron when passed by the writer and the friends who accompanied him, who were there informed that these gardens sometimes produced bunches of grapes, when fully ripe, of six pounds' weight; and on a succeeding day, Sir Moses Montefiore got a bunch of grapes about a yard in length.* On a plain near to Hebron, supposed to be that of Mamre, stands, pre-eminent among other trees, one which bears the name of Abraham's oak, that yet remains as a witness of the goodliness of the land. The circumference of its trunk, as carefully measured, is twenty-two feet nine inches, and where the branches separate, twenty-five feet nine inches. It spreads nearly equally around to a great extent, the circumference of its branches being two hundred and fifty-six feet, and the diameter, from their opposite extremities, eighty-one feet, thus covering an area of about five hundred square yards.

Tadmor and Baalbec, built by Solomon, though fallen, are magnificent in their ruins; but the pools of Hebron and the pools of Solomon, most substantially and finely constructed, are yet entire. The former has ever watered the city where David first reigned; and slight repairs of the aqueduct by Mehemet Ali have made the water to flow from the latter, a distance of six miles, to the city where his throne was finally established. The larger pool of Hebron is a hundred and thirty-three feet on each side—nineteen hundred and forty-three square yards of superficial extent—and its depth above twenty feet. Of the pools of Solomon, the average length of the first is three hundred and eighty-four feet, the breadth two hundred and thirty-two, and the depth

* Narrative, p. 246.

twenty-five feet. Of the second, the length is four hundred and twenty-five feet, and the average breadth two hundred and four. Of the third, the length is five hundred and eighty-three feet, and the average breadth one hundred and seventy-five. These have not continued entire for so many ages merely to suit the purpose of the Pasha of Egypt, the temporary lord of Palestine, or to supply water to Gentiles that tread Jerusalem under foot.

Some cultivated spots scattered throughout the land, in the vicinity of a town or village protected by a Turkish governor or an Arab sheik, still show what the vine-clad hills of Israel were, and what they are yet destined to be; and more delicious fruits may yet be found in that desolate land than wealth can command or art produce in less genial climes; and grapes and other fruits may still be gleaned, which put to shame the best artificial vineries of England.

The village of Kurieh, in the mountains, on the way from Gaza to Jerusalem, is imbosomed among olives, pomegranates, and large fig-trees, a solitary palm rising above the cluster. Many of the terraces are finely cultivated, showing what these mountains might speedily become.* Near Kuloneah, on the same road, about five miles distant from Jerusalem, figs, olives, and vines have resumed their place on many terraces; and the bottom of the valley, though stony, exhibits all the richness and beauty of a land once the garden of the Roman Empire. It is, so far as cultivated, an orchard of fruit-trees, intermingled with vineyards, in which vines, figs, olives, pomegranates, peaches, &c., conspire, in rich luxuriance, to show what fruit Judea can produce wherever it is recultivated, even where the ground is very stony, while many far larger, and naturally far richer valleys, and hills alike terraced throughout, are utterly waste.

We cannot pass by the *waste places* around Jerusalem without looking to a more sure augury of a plenteous produce and a returning glory than that of the fairest flowers or the richest fruit. Desolation has indeed come up upon the land, and environed the now feeble walls of Jerusalem. The hills around it are waste. Upon them, except occasionally, and partially along the valleys at their base, there is scarcely a field that is ploughed, except that, according to the Word of the Lord, which Zion itself has become. In the bottom of the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, over the brook

* Narrative, p. 164.

SOLOMON'S GARDENS.

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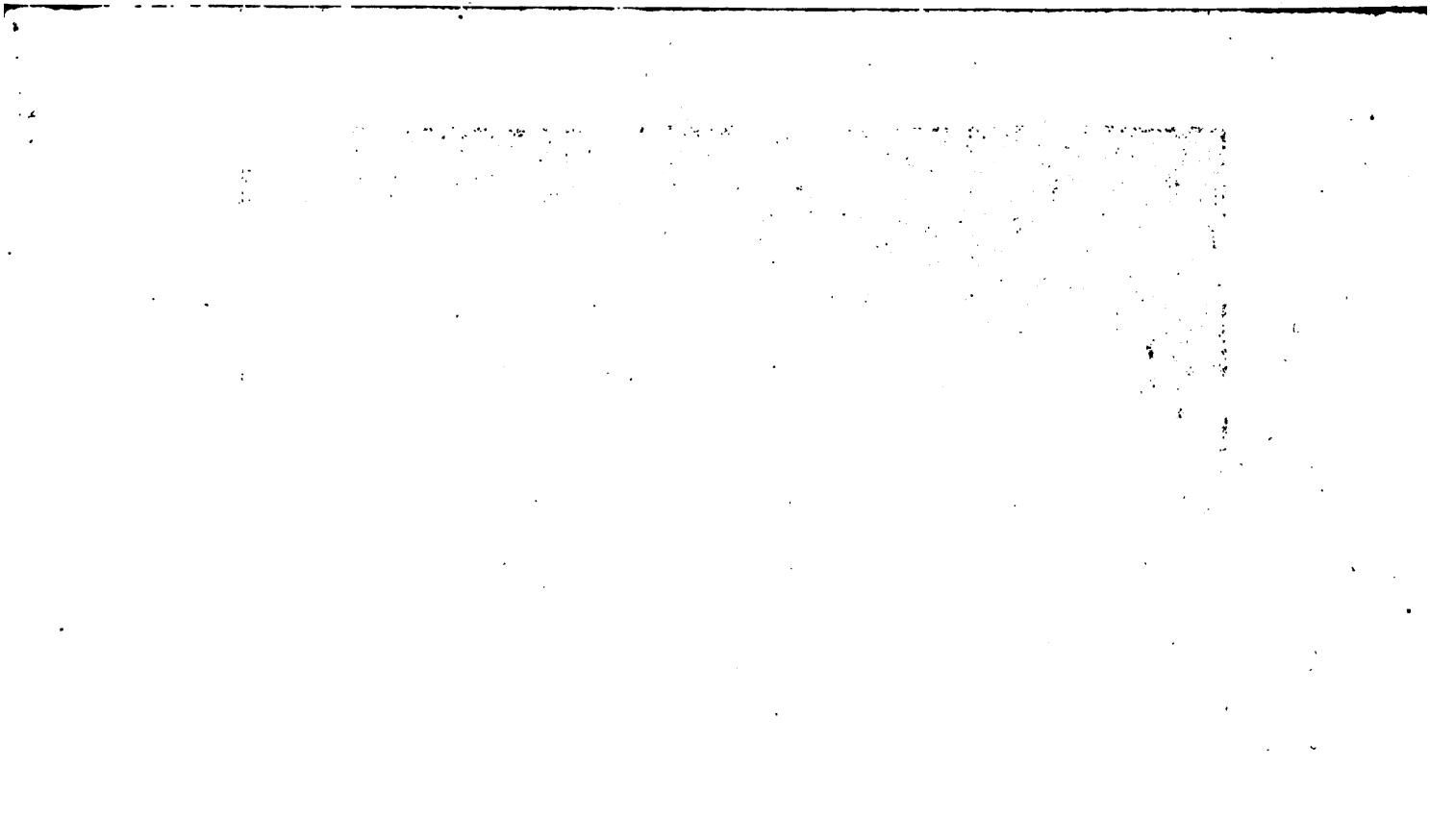

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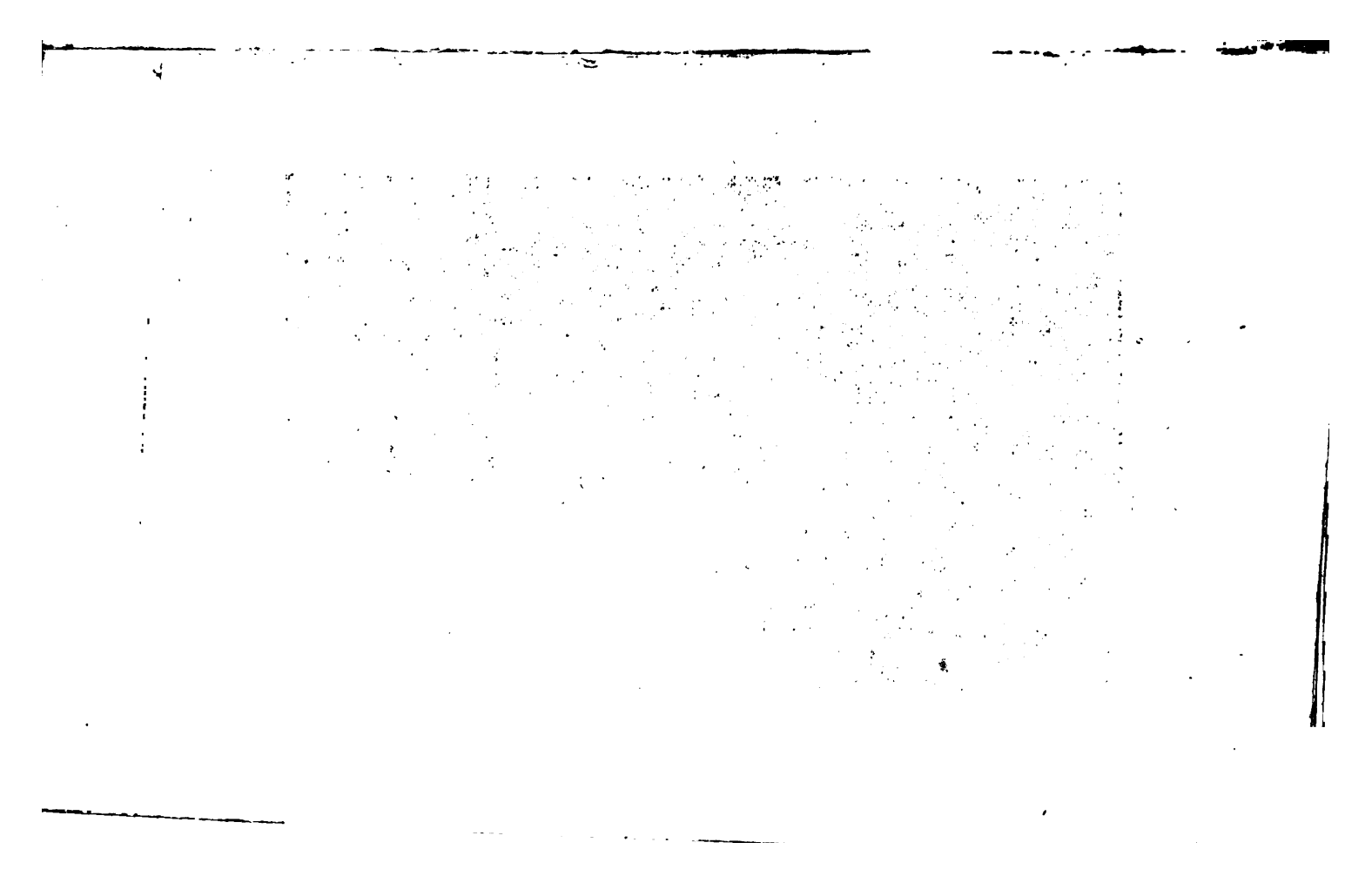

Kedron, large and venerable olive-trees keep their place in the garden of Gethsemane, once stained with that blood which shall redeem from the curse the land, the people, and the world. A few trees are thinly scattered over the mount, whose name still tells that it was once, in truth, the Mount of Olives. "The Lord shall comfort Zion: He will comfort all her *waste places;* and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody."* "Break forth into joy, sing together, ye *waste places* of Jerusalem, for the Lord hath comforted his people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem."† Jerusalem will be more appropriately our theme in treating—at another time, if God will—on the covenant with David. It is not from the waste places around it, nor from a city often visited by plague, oppressed by strangers, and trodden down of the Gentiles, that any shadow can be seen of the eternal excellency which the Lord will make it, nor can any sound be there heard of the joy into which its waste places shall break forth when the Lord shall make it also the dwelling of peace and the joy of many generations.‡ But the God of Jerusalem shall therefore be glorified the more. The record is plain, and the truth is clear, and the word of our God abideth forever. He is ever mindful of his covenant; and prefixed to these glorious things that are written concerning Jerusalem is this command to Israel, "Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for I called him alone, and blessed him, and increased him. For the Lord shall comfort Zion,"§ &c.

The two plates here inserted, from the engravings illustrative of the work on Syria of the able and worthy Schubert, give a view of Jerusalem from the south and from the north. In the former, Mount Zion and Mount Moriah, between it and the valley of Jehoshaphat, are distinctly marked, together with that valley itself, and the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem. In the other, an ampler view is given of the waste places around it. (See Plates.)

The view of the site of Solomon's gardens shows how utterly desolate the fairest portions of Palestine have become, while a few fig and olive trees are, like many others in like patches, spread over the land, the memorialists of a departed glory, and the heralds of a greater than that of Solomon.

* Isaiah, li., 3. † Ibid., lii., 9. ‡ Ibid., lx., 15. § Ibid., li., 2.

About twelve miles north of Jerusalem stood the great city of Gibeon, now the poor village of El-Jib. The natural fertility of the country around it, together with its terraced hills, was worthy of a royal city. The bare fronts of the close terraces of a steep mountain, as seen from beneath, present to view little or nothing but stones or rocks, and ten or twelve olives are the only relief to the eye in surveying a seemingly sterile hill. But the whole was terraced, and yet awaits the time when it shall bud forth anew. Another hill of similar appearance was partially cultivated. The terraces were filled with fruit, as all those of Israel yet shall be: and the stony mountain side, as it seemed, till cultured anew, was transformed into a rich hanging garden. The green and close foliage of the branches which the mountain shot forth, vines being entwined round fig-trees and pomegranates, wholly hid the frowning rock from view, and presented a smiling vineyard in its stead. In all the higher ground desolation towered over it, and every empty terrace spoke of a curse yet unremoved; but the base of the mountain, in one beauteous spot, formed a vineyard and a garden, which, were it not unweeded from the budding of the blossom to the ripening of the fruit, would be still worthy of Israel, and show how the land shall become like the garden of Eden.

Farther on the way from Jerusalem to Samaria, in passing through the terraced hills of Ephraim, now at best a pasture for flocks, but more generally the resort of wild beasts, partial spots are to be seen, as near the village of Ain Jehrub, covered with vines and other fruit-trees. In an ampler space the valley of *Mazrah* shows how the bare and bleak terraces were once luxuriantly clothed, and in passing through it the traveller forgets that he sojourns in a desolate land. All along the declivities of the opposite hills, and in the bottom of the valley, thousands of fig and olive trees, and seemingly in the distance vines, wholly cover the terraces, and, though untouched by the pruner's knife, and left to Nature's care, a rich orchard spreads everywhere around.

Beyond it the valley of *Lebonah*, partially cultivated, is surrounded by terraced hills, mostly bare and waste—a blighted paradise. There, as of old, it may be seen—*where men go to the place which was in Shiloh, where the Lord set his name at the first*—what the Lord hath done to it and to the land, because of the wickedness of them that dwell therein: yet even there none can look on the environs of a

village, or on the terraces ranged in order on the surrounding hills, without seeing what the Lord shall yet do for Israel, when his name shall be set up at the last in Jerusalem, and the covenant of peace shall be established with his people.

Sihor, with its lonely vale, whose inhabitants came forth to see Jesus, and many of whom, without a miracle but that of grace, believed on him there, has hitherto, in a great measure, escaped the curse which has lighted on the cities that would not hear the messenger of the Lord. Groves of olives, orchards, and gardens are intermingled with fields of corn, as if the hill of Gerizzim, at the foot of which it stands, yet echoed some of the blessings which Joshua read, while all the curses, taken up by the four winds of heaven, have spread over the land. Almonds, oranges, pomegranates, olives, figs, peaches, dates, may all be gathered in a single spot; and as they successively ripen, the ground is literally covered with fruit. The place where Abraham was first stayed on reaching Canaan, and where Jesus held not his hands as among Israelites to an unbelieving people, is a well *watered garden*, and thus a token of what the land shall be when the day that Abraham saw afar off and was glad shall come, and all the renovated cities of the land shall know that Jesus is the very Christ. In speaking as all the prophets spake of that glorious consummation, the mountains of Ephraim and Samaria were not forgotten any more than those of Judah. Less blighted than these, they are in many places covered with rich pasture; and the terraced mountains of Samaria, like that on which its capital stood, need no more than the planting of vineyards, that the shoutings of the vintage, that long have ceased, may return. They too cry out for the completion of the promises of the God of Israel. *Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria; the planters shall plant, and shall eat them as common things. For there shall be a day that the watchmen upon Mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise, and let us go up to Zion, to the Lord our God. For thus saith the Lord, sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the chief of the nations: publish ye, and praise ye, and say, O Lord, save thy people, the remnant of Israel. Behold, I will bring thee, and gather thee, saith the Lord; for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born.**

* Jer., xxxi., 5-9.

The glory of Jacob has indeed waxed thin, but some vestiges may thus still be seen of what it was: and other exceptions to the general desolation that has come over the mountains of Israel have been marked in various directions by passing travellers. The land has enjoyed its Sabbaths, and has rested for ages; but, like that of fallowed or long-pastured fields, its rest has not been in vain. Its unproductiveness in produce for man during centuries past has progressively increased; and instead of being reduced by unceasing cropping, the soil has been accumulating from generation to generation. The terraces are so constructed that they act as filters, and the mould, instead of being washed down the sides of the hills by the earlier and latter rains, has not only been retained, but has received new accessions by the annual decay of the rank grass, or the thickset thorns, and briers, and thistles, which grow in confirmation of the threatened curse, and in preparation for the promised blessing. The *substance* that is in it is not wasted, but increased. The wild produce, often impenetrable in its rankness, has kept the mountains in continued manure; and the strangers who have boasted that the mountains of Israel were given unto them for a possession, by the very act of extirpating the vines and destroying the vineyards, have made way for a produce that could not profit them, but which unceasingly deposited on the surface of the soil the substance which the roots of the thorns drew from the interstices of the rocks. The terraces, as it were, are carpeted all over with low thorny plants, covered with thick prickly leaves, which turn aside the foot of the intruder, and pay all their tribute to a land which a blessing yet awaits, till Jacob become an inheritor of his own mountains again. The desolations of many generations, during which the mountains of Israel have been always waste, have not passed unprofitably for Israel, though unproductively to aliens.

While the hills of Judah and of Ephraim have been resting and gathering strength in their repose, labour, where needful, has been called into exercise in other lands than those which the Israelites anciently possessed, in preparation for the time when they shall enlarge the place of their tent, and stretch forth the curtains of their habitations. The people who have dwelt within their inheritance, driven from the fertile plains that needed no culture to promote their fertility, have not been idle in other mountains where their la-

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bour would finally be profitable to the rightful possessors of the land.

Dan lay on the south of Lebanon, which, though all included in the promised heritage, formed no part of the land in which the Israelites dwelt. *But the Lord will bring his people into the land of Lebanon,** and there the preparation for their entering seems to be completed, and the day may be at hand when it shall be said, *Is it not yet a very little while and Lebanon shall be turned into a fertile field.*†

"The country of Kesrouan (northeast of Beyrout)," says Burckhardt, "presents a most interesting aspect; on the one hand are steep and lofty mountains full of villages and convents, built on their rocky sides, and on the other a fine bay, and a plain of about a mile in breadth, extending from the mountains to the sea. *There is scarcely any place in Syria less fit for culture than the Kesrouan, yet it has become the most populous part of the country.* The quantity of silk produced annually amounts to about three hundred and thirty hundred weight English. The extraordinary extortions of the government are excessive."‡

"On the summit and on the eastern side of Anti-Libanus (between Damascus and Baalbec) there are many spots affording good pasturage. It abounds also in short oak-trees."§ The monastery of Mar-Elias has extensive grape and mulberry plantations, and on the river side a well-cultivated garden. The town of Zahle is surrounded by vineyards.‖ The terraces in the vicinity of the convent are covered with vines,¶ as recently seen and painted by Colonel Macniven. Though few in number compared to those of the mountains of Israel, which often embrace the whole sides of successive valleys to the very summits of the hills, the view of them as in the plate may convey to the reader some idea of the labour expended in ages past in preparation for the fulness of the covenanted promises to Israel.

Nothing can be more striking than a comparison of the fertile but uncultivated districts of Bekaa and Baalbec, with the rocky mountains in the opposite direction, where, notwithstanding that Nature seems to afford nothing for the sustenance of the inhabitants, numerous villages flourish, and every inch of ground is cultivated. Bshirrai is surrounded with fruit-trees, mulberry plantations, vineyards,

* Zechariah, x., 10. † Isaiah, xxix., 17. ‡ Burckhardt, p. 162-167, 168.
§ Ibid., p. 20, 21. ‖ Ibid., p. 7. ¶ Ibid., p. 7.

fields of dhouna, and other corn, though there is scarcely a natural plain twenty feet square. The inhabitants, with great industry, build terraces to level the ground, and prevent the earth from being swept down by the winter rains, and at the same time to retain the water requisite for the irrigation of their crops. Water is very abundant, as streams from numerous springs descend on every side into the Kadesha, whose source is two hours distant from Bishinai.

In journeying from Hamah to Tripoli, Burckhardt passed the village of Mashegad, in the neighbourhood of which are large plantations of mulberry-trees, which are watered by numerous rivulets descending on all sides from the mountain into the valley, and as few of them dry up in summer, it must be a delightful residence during the hot season. Travelling from thence for an hour and a half, he reached the village of Soueida, near to which were some plantations of mulberry-trees. Between it and Nyshaf, a considerable village, with large plantations of the same tree, are several ruined castles. Near it, at Shennyn (an Anzeyry village), the declivity of the mountains is covered with vineyards growing upon narrow terraces. On the top of the mountain is fine pasturage, with several springs. The romantic valley of Rowyd is full of mulberry and other fruit-trees. Crossing the wady at the foot of the mountain, he continued along its right bank on the slope of the mountain, through orchards and fields, till he reached the foot of the mountain upon which Kalaat-el-Hopn is built. From thence he descended to the convent of Mar Djordjos, which has large vine and olive plantations in its neighbourhood.*

In crossing the mountains from Tripoli to Baalbec, some rich and beautiful scenes were seen and described by Mr. Buckingham. From the summit of Jebel Armeto, "the whole of the plain below, with the deep valleys which intersect it, look beautiful, presenting corn-lands of the freshest green, bare patches of ploughed land, showing a deep-red soil, and olive-trees and streams of water in abundance."†

The valley of Khezheyah was watered with a fine stream, and presented on all sides marks of active industry. In the valley were two or three small villages, the ground about which was laid out in narrow slips or terraces, raised one above another, in which were planted corn, olives, vines, and mulberries, and the inaccessible parts were covered

* Burckhardt, p. 154, 155, 157, 159, 160. † Buckingham, p. 468.

with pines and wild shrubs, among which were some fine springs of excellent water. From thence he passed into a second valley, which was of the most romantic kind, being hemmed in on all sides by lofty cliffs of overhanging rocks, so as to remind one of the happy valley of Rasselas. The steep sides of the valley were laid out in cultivated terraces as before, and the whole presented a most interesting picture.* Ascending to the highest summit of Lebanon, he passed an elevated plain well covered with grain, before reaching the village of Eden, where the whole ground, valley, hill, and plain, was cultivated with great industry, and promised a harvest of abundance. The famous cedars stand at the foot of the ridge, which forms the highest peak of Lebanon. Several of the largest are from 10 to 12 feet in diameter at the trunk, with branches of a corresponding size; each of them like large trees extending outward from the parent stock, and overshadowing a considerable space of ground.†

From the plain of Mamre to the heights of Lebanon, bordering on the eternal snow, it may thus be seen what trees in all its varied climes the promised land of Israel can bear.

In journeying from Homs to Tartoos, or across the hill-country that lies between Lebanon and the entrance into Hamath, and again in repassing them farther to the north, from Laodicea to Antioch, Mr. Buckingham passed still richer and lovelier scenes. The hills near Hussu were cultivated to their summits with corn and olives, which, added to the fertility of the plain itself, its light green fields, and darker lines of trees, presented as rich and beautiful a picture as he had seen in the country, though he had visited Gilead.‡ We continued for about three hours through a valley, enjoying a succession of the most beautiful views. The landscape to the north presented successive beds of gentle hills, with a profusion of wood.§ Entering the country of the Neyzery Arabs (anciently of the Zemarites or Arkites), "one side," he says, "was through one continued park of indescribable beauty; and, although chiefly over level ground, yet by the profusion of its wood, and here and there some gentle eminences, the landscape varied at every point of view. The state of agriculture was here, too, more perfect and more flourishing than we had hitherto seen it elsewhere. The fields were free from wood and stones, and many of

* Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 469, 470.
‡ Ibid., p. 475, 476. † Ibid., p. 503. § Ibid., p. 506.

them were enclosed by light fences of twig work. Some of the barley was nearly ripe for the perennial harvest, and other grounds were tilling by four ploughs in succession, each followed by a sower distributing the grain from a basket for the autumnal one. Fine fat cattle were seen in numerous herds, with some few buffaloes among them, and all wore an appearance of wealth, activity, and abundance. We thought it remarkable, therefore, that in all our way from Hussu hence we had not yet seen a village of any size, having passed only a few hamlets scattered about on the hills, until about three o'clock we passed through one called Yahmoora, where there are extensive ruins."*

The mountains of Amanus, which, from the northern portion of the promised land, are rich in cedars and in pines, &c., and in many places abound with fruit as well as forest trees—vestiges, among many others, of "high civilization" in ancient times—show what the farthest borders of the land may yet be, and how Israel may look, in gratitude, if not in pride, from *the top of Amana*. That mountain chain, linking the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, preserves to its utmost bounds the character of the land, which no hand of man can touch, *a land of hills and valleys, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills.* On the one extremity of Amanus we have seen the valley of the Orontes, which forms the entrance into Hamath, than which a lovelier might long be sought for in vain; and on the other, instead of irreclaimable waste-like mountains in more northern regions, the Nezib hills, northwest of Beer, are celebrated for their olive groves.† Another illustration of their conjoined richness and beauty may be drawn from another spot, while in the vestiges of what these regions have been may be seen the tokens of what they again shall become.

"Nothing can be more beautifully picturesque," says Mr. Robinson, "than the banks of the Beilan Sou; the height here being often abrupt, and well clothed with trees, at present (April 2) in full blossom. Down their sides several tributary rivulets fall into the river, and descend in pretty cascades from rock to rock towards the sea. Here and there are isolated cottages, with patches of cultivated soil attached to them, from which the green corn is now springing up.‡ In travelling through these beautiful regions, one

* Buckingham, p. 507, 508. † Ainsworth's Assyria, p. 292.
‡ Robinson's Travels in Syria, vol. ii., p. 286.

is struck with the magnificence of some of the khans, aqueducts, and other works of public utility, denoting a state of great prosperity and high civilization, which everywhere present themselves; but, though these monuments at the present day exhibit the marks of a long-standing neglect, no timely repairs are made, and the work of destruction is allowed to continue, as if they belonged to no one, and that the soil was bereft of its rightful owners."*

Its rightful owners are the Israelites, and it will not always be bereft of them. Israel, the restorer of cities to dwell in, is not yet on his way. The Jews acting around the exchanges of Europe, and trampled on as they have been in ages past, kingdoms are now their creditors. The time in their history seems past, or fast passing away, when *no man* could *lift up his head;* and were they now to return, some of them would be taken from among *the chief men of the earth.* At present, per centage is their attraction among the Gentiles; and they cling to the stocks like needles to a magnet. But were public credit to be affected, and the magnetic influence to be destroyed, and were a way prepared for their return to the land of their fathers, those infidel Jews who, in great numbers throughout Germany, now for the first time in their history, deny that their race shall return, freed from the bonds that link them to the land of the Gentiles, might find their strongest attraction in the land which they too at last begin to despise; for, whenever security of possession can be attained, where does per centage rank higher among the exchanges of Europe than in a purchased strip of land at the foot of Amanus? "There is a strip of land on the banks of the Orontes which is devoted to the cultivation of the culinary vegetables peculiar to Turkey, badinjan (egg-plant), bamijah, and capsicum. Ibrahim Pasha had purchased this for sixty purses, or three hundred pounds, and farmed it out. It probably yielded more than two hundred pounds a year to the proprietor."† Before turning from the mountains of Israel, which have been a *derision,* may we not ask, What would not the whole land yield were it to overflow with the multitude of men which shall yet cover it, when the desolate wilderness, in which such gleaning grapes are left, shall become like the garden of Eden?

* Robinson's Travels in Syria, vol. ii., p. 288.
† Ainsworth's Assyria, vol. ii., p. 95, 96.

For the farther solution of this question, we must look from the mountains to the still richer plains, which lie to the west as to the east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and in the north of Syria, as in the kingdom of Bashan.

The land of Israel is a land of hills, and valleys, and plains. Chains of hills and mountains extend from its southern to its northern extremity, and thus impart a variety of richness and a diversity of climate to the separate portions of each tribe, as they are destined to extend successively from the bounds of the Red Sea to the top of Amana. The mountains of Seir, the hill-country of Judea, the hills of Ephraim and Samaria, the goodly mountain of Lebanon, and the Neyzery hills from thence to the north of the Orontes, where they border with Amanus, occupy the whole length of the land on the west of the El-Gha and the Orontes, while the line of the hills of Moab, of Gilead, and of Bashan is continued, valleys intervening throughout, by the higher range of Anti-Lebanon, which borders with the land of Hamath. The marvellous manner in which these mountains were made to contribute in rich abundance to the wants and luxury of a dense population, is of itself the strongest of positive proofs that no pains were spared in the cultivation of the plains, and the remains of numberless aqueducts and cisterns throughout the land show that it once was as a watered garden. Continuous mountains, interspersed with numerous valleys, sheltered and watered plains as continuous and extensive; and from end to end of the land, these too succeed each other, in a natural richness and fertility so great, that an exuberant produce called for little toil, even as the prodigality of the ground in producing magnificent thistles, and other wild plants and thorns, often exhibits in their profusion a fecundity which renders the desolation *astonishing*.

The plains of Philistia, of Sharon, of Acre, and of Phœnicia, jointly extend along the coast from the south of Palestine to the base of Mount Casius. The ridge of *Carmel by the sea* divides the plain of Sharon from that of Acre, and from the great plain of Esdraelon; and where Lebanon touches the coast, it divides for a short space the Phœnician plains. In the interior of the land, the valleys of the Jordan, the Kasmich, and the Orontes extend from the Dead Sea to Amanus, the rivers of which flow through extensive plains ere they reach the Euphrates.

The natural fertility of these immense plains, which thus overspread the land, is such, that one general description of a *good land* might suffice for all. Each, compared with what it has been, is as a field that has been reaped; but a gleaning is left in them all. The harvest is past, but there is the promise of a better. Many pastors have destroyed the vineyard of the Lord, and have trodden his pleasant portion under foot; but if the hills have profited by the thorns which have come upon them, the wild but still more luxuriant produce which the plains have yielded has also rendered the land more *fat* than it was; and it has not been pastured, and in a great measure untilled, for ages in vain. The fallow of a single year, or the pasturage of a few, renews the strength of cultivated grounds, and fits them for a repetition of successive crops. But the land of Israel, while trodden down of the Gentiles, has rested for ages, and has refused to own any other people as its heirs or rightful possessors, while those to whom the Lord gave it for an heritage have been scattered abroad. The *substance* is in it, not less, but rather more than ever; and witnesses remain to show what it yet can yield. Age after age has increased its desolation, but the wild verdure and the withered grass have fallen year by year on its native soil, to enrich it the more: and, as in the mountains, continued preparation has been made for the final completion of the promises of the Lord to Israel, that he will do better unto them than at their beginnings, when the sons of the aliens shall not only build their walls, but also be *their ploughmen and their vine-dressers. For your shame ye shall have double*, and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion; *therefore in their land they shall possess the double*, everlasting joy *shall be upon them.**

On the southern extremity of the plain of Philistia, the soil is seen to the depth of eight or ten feet, or so far as the winter torrents have anywhere penetrated through the ground and laid it open to view; yet such is the existing desolation, that in so deep a soil and so delicious a climate, ten or twelve trees—all that the travellers can count standing singly and far apart, in a wide-spread plain—or forty or fifty in another part of it, sprinkled somewhat less sparingly in an extensive view, like a solitary palm in the plain of Jericho, are the last sad mourners over the departed glory of Jacob, the fatness of whose flesh has thus been made

* Isa., lxi., 5, 7.

lean. Yet, just because they stand so far between in solitariness now, the bare remnants of fallen orchards or forests, they may be the first of those trees which, in the expressive language of Scripture, *shall clap their hands* when *the joy of the land* shall return, and when *instead of the thorn shall come up the fig-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name and for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off forever,** even as they are now the sufficient witnesses that his judgments were not altogether exterminating, but that a very *small remnant is left*, that the land of Israel should not be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. The last of their race in ages past may well be the first of another, which shall never thus be reduced again while the ordinances of heaven shall stand, and the promises to the patriarchs be confirmed; for while the scriptural figure is ever so true to the past, and the *gleaning grapes* alone are left, it seems as emphatically to forbid that these sole and solitary memorials, now scarcely spared, should also disappear till the land be visited by its own children again, that something in the desolated plain, as in the ruined cities, may be *left to the house of Israel.*

But, however few, there are also some groups and groves of figs or olives, and other fruits, which still show that the trees of the land did not always stand alone in the plains any more than in the hills.

The days come when every Israelite *shall call his neighbour under the vine and under the fig-tree;*† and, as an emblem of that time, the weary stranger from a far land may sometimes bend his way to a cluster of trees (as at Deir-Esnaib), and, as the writer may testify, find refreshing shelter under the deep shade of the finest fig-trees he ever saw; while hundreds of plums and apricots may be brought to him, for which a single piaster (2½*d.*) is deemed ample payment. The close olive grove, extending for miles, near Gaza, is full of trees, compared to which the olives of Provence are like shrubs. Vines may there be seen entwined around fig-trees; the luscious pomegranates, in their season, may be seen, as at Nablous, covering the ground. Lofty hedges of the Indian fig and prickly pear, the common and impenetrable fence of the remaining gardens of Syria, there line each side of the road, each leaf of which, with its thorny points, might well outweigh the flower-pot

* Isa. lv., 12, 13. † Zech., iii., 10.

CAESEREA

TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT PALMYRA

Bernatz MOUNT TABOR A.L. Dick

plants of the same species in the greenhouses of England; and fallen as Syria is, these hedges are covered with fruit. The soil of the gardens of Gaza "is exceeding rich and productive. The apricots are delicious and abundant. The fertile soil produces in abundance grains and fruits of every kind, and of the finest quality."*

Figs, pomegranates, watermelons, renowned for their excellence, grow luxuriantly and abundantly in the gardens of Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, which opens out into the plain of *Sharon*, apparently "extremely fertile, but only partially cultivated, and still less inhabited."† "All this country," says Pococke, "is a very rich soil, and throws up a great quantity of herbage, very rank thistles, rue, and fennel, and a great variety of anemones, and many beautiful tulips."‡ The plain of Sharon, extending to the hills of Judea on the east, and Carmel on the north, has lost all richness and beauty but what the earth itself retains, and the wildness of nature supplies. But while the vast herbage enriches the soil, the traveller, whose face is not lighted up by the hope of better days to come, is "oppressed with a species of melancholy which he is at a loss to account for, seeing no cause for the existence of such a state of things but the curse which has come upon the land." *Bashan and Carmel shake off their fruits, and Sharon is like a wilderness.*§ But, as the same prophet looking to Israel's return, has said, The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; the glory of Lebanon *shall return unto it; the excellency of Carmel and Sharon*, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.‖ Sharon shall be a fold for flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for the herds to lie down, for the people that have sought me.¶

The large and fertile *plain of Acre*, as seen and described by Pococke, was exceedingly rich, and, towards the east, well cultivated with cotton and corn. Its soil resembles the dark loam of Egypt, and is now chiefly covered with large thistles.** "The fine plain of Zabulon, extending to the plain of Esdraelon, was, a century ago, a fruitful spot, all covered with corn."†† A few years later, Hasselquist, the pupil of Linnæus, and to whom his letters were addressed, journeying from Acre to Nazareth, first passed

* Robinson and Smith's Trav., vol. ii., p. 376, 377.
† Mr. Robinson's Travels, vol. i., p. 25.
‡ Pococke's Travels, p. 5.
§ Isa., xxxiii., 9.
‖ Ibid., xxxv., 1, 2.
¶ Ibid., lxv., 10.
** Pococke, p. 52–61. Buckingham, p. 62.
†† Ibid., p. 61.

through corn-fields which surrounded the remains of an ancient town, and afterward came to a field about three miles wide, which bore every year a quantity of good cotton. From thence he passed through small hills, or rising grounds covered with plants, and having fine valleys between them, and afterward the country around consisted of the finest groves of the eastern oak (Quercus conifera). He then entered on the fine plain of Zabulon, covered with cotton, at the end of which was a fine grove of oaks, interspersed with beech. He traversed a land then more beauteous and better cultivated than it is now, and which retained some evidence, which it has since lost, that it was once a land flowing with milk and honey. He saw numerous beehives at the village of Sephoury, and, ascending Tabor, was refreshed by the milk of its fine herds of cattle. A fine country, covered with forests, lay between Nazareth and Tabor. The extensive plain of Esdraelon, only partially cultivated, was then an occasional scene of Arab warfare. Treading the vineyard of the Lord under foot, the oxen and cows of Galilee constituted "a remarkable part of the riches of the country."* It is now almost entirely deserted, except by the wandering Arabs.

Mount Tabor, rising from the plain of Esdraelon, of Jezreel, or Megidda, is on one side covered with oaks and other trees, and bare on the other (see Plate). The view of it may convey some idea of the desolation that has overspread the land. At its base lies one of the most fertile plains on earth, the wild and luxuriant herbage of which has added for ages to the fatness of the soil. Studded, as it was in ancient times, with cities and large villages, many pastors, with their flocks of cattle, camels, sheep, and goats, have long *trodden it under foot*. Not a town or village is visible to the naked eye from the top of Tabor, and very few with the aid of the glass. The Bedouin tribes are to this day seen living there under tents surrounded by their flocks, for the sake of the rich pasture it affords.† In many places it is closely covered with briers and thorns, in others "beautifully variegated with immense fields of thistles and wild flowers, giving the whole plain the appearance of a carpeted floor."‡ It is resting for a richer produce than it has ever yielded; but it shall also be the scene of heavier judg-

* Hasselquist, p. 153, 154 † Mr. Robinson's Trav., vol. i., p. 214, 215.
‡ Narrative, p. 402.

ments than it has ever witnessed, ere the land be redeemed from its curse. In the first ages of Jewish history, as well as during the Roman Empire and the Crusades, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest, and perhaps no soil has ever been so saturated with human gore."* But *great shall be the day of Jezreel*†— greater far than it has ever seen. Never yet has any land been so saturated with human gore that *the blood came up to the horses' bridles*.‡

"The vast plain of Jericho is rich, and susceptible of easy tillage, an abundant irrigation, and a climate to produce anything; yet it lies almost a desert, and it needs only the hand of cultivation to become one of the richest and most beautiful spots on the face of the earth. The valley of Jordan (of which it forms part) is for the most part susceptible of being rendered in the highest degree productive, in connexion with the abundance of water and heat of the climate. Indeed, its fertility has been celebrated in every age,"§ and, on the opposite extremity of the Lake of Tiberias, the fertile valley extends to the sources of the Jordan. "As we descended towards Paneas," says Captains Irby and Mangles, "we found the country extremely beautiful; great quantities of wild flowers, and a variety of shrubs just budding, together with the richness of the verdure of the grass, corn, and beans, showed us at once the beauties of spring (Feb. 24). The neighbourhood of Paneas is extremely beautiful, richly wooded, and abounds with game. In ascending from Lake Horeb (Miram) to Saphed, the plain we had quitted was literally covered with wild geese, ducks, widgeon, snipe, and water-fowl of every description."‖ A fine plain watered with numerous tributary streams, westward of Paneas, and many old, ruined mills, testify to the ancient fruitfulness and comparative desolation of a region where Crusaders carried off a spoil unheard of in European territories. The greater part of the plain is uncultivated, but luxuriant wild oats cover many fields, which men have ceased to cultivate.

Beyond the *ancient* frontier of Israel, the land yet to be possessed is not less fertile, whether in the plains or mountains, than that which the Israelites occupied of old.

The space between Sidon and the mountains of Lebanon,

* Mr. Robinson's Trav., vol. i., p. 214. † Hosea, i., 11.
‡ Rev., xiv., 20. § Robinson and Smith, vol. ii., p. 279–286, 289.
‖ Irby and Mangles, p. 286–291.

as described by Pococke, was wnolly laid out in gardens or orchards, which appeared very beautiful at a distance. "I was one day," he says, "entertained by the French merchants with a collation in a garden under the shade of apricot-trees; and the fruit of them was shaken on us, as an instance of their great plenty and abundance. Richly-cultivated gardens, with tall, verdant trees, still cover the plain."*

The great plain of Phœnicia, between both the Lebanon and Anzeyry Mountains and the sea, is naturally very fertile, and "no place could be better watered than it is by the numerous streams or rivers which traverse it; but it is now nearly deserted, and only partially cultivated, the cultivators being chiefly the Anzeyrys who inhabit the mountains."†

On the opposite side of the mountains, the valleys of Bekaa and the Orontes present throughout a vast expanse of successive plains, extending for more than two hundred miles, scarcely less desolate, or less tempting to the cultivator, than the plains of the Belkah or the Haouran.

"The plain between Deir-el-Ahmer and Baalbec is fertile to a degree, but apparently uncultivated. There are no villages within sight of the road."‡ Not a sixth part of the *plain of Bekaa* is cultivated between Zahl and Baalbec.§ The district, like that of Bekaa, is fertile, but uncultivated. The vast *plain of Homs* (Emesa) is beautiful, and of almost unequalled fertility. The *plain of Hamah* exceeds even that of Homs in the fertility of its soil, but is still less cultivated than that of the Bekaa. "The lower tract, called *El-Huleh*, is not less remarkable for its fertility. But these plains, though so fertile by nature, are, like most of the plains of Syria, less cultivated than the mountains. The district of Selomya, lying east of the Asy (Orontes), was described as exceeding even the neighbourhood of Homs and Hamah in the fertility of its soil. It was (in 1834) entirely deserted ‖ These plains retain all their natural fertility, as when Seleucus Nicator and his successors maintained, in the vicinity of Apamea, five thousand elephants, three thousand breeding mares, and a great part of his army.¶ The *plain of Alaks*, supposed to be that in which Aurelian conquered Zenobia, and in which the traveller now counts many sites of ruins, consists of a fine loamy soil, now left desolate and

* Pococke, p 86. Narrative, p. 349.
† Van Egmont and Heyman, p. 307, 308. Mr. Robinson, p. 67, 71. Irby and Mangles, &c. ‡ Mr. Robinson, vol. ii., p. 92. § Burckhardt, p. 8.
‖ Robinson and Smith, vol. iii., App., p. 174, 176, 178. ¶ Strabo, p 1068.

uninhabited.* The *plains of Kiftein*, southwest of Aleppo, are of vast compass, extending to the southward beyond the reach of the eye, and are in most places very fruitful. Near Kiftein are more dovecots than houses.† The *great plain of Uruk* contains the Lake of Antioch in its centre. The plain of Dæna, which is very level, is badly supplied with water; but it once has been, and still is, remarkable for its fertility. It extends to the foot of Mount St. Simon on the one side, and on the south beyond the visible horizon.‡ The gardens of Aleppo have lost for a time their high renown, but the slopes of the hills which border both sides of the river are laid out into vineyards, olive plantations, and fig-gardens.§ There, as throughout most places in Syria, the abundance of game is astonishing. Every day, say Irby and Mangles, we had either woodcocks or partridges, wild geese or ducks, teal, the bustard, or wild turkey,‖ &c.

These extracts, brief and incomplete as they are, may, from the ample evidence which they impart, leave some impression on the reader's mind of the vast extent, reaching from end to end, of the land, and of the astonishing fertility, and no less astonishing desolation of the plains which pertain to the covenanted inheritance of Israel.

Colonel Chesney's work on the Euphrates Expedition, now in the press, with many of the proof-sheets of which he kindly furnished the writer of these pages, will throw a new light on these regions, long mostly unknown to the world, of which they held as long the chief dominion. As the first spot on which the Euphrates Expedition landed has been thereby exalted into an illustration of the facility with which a once noble city of Syria could be restored, so also the spot at which they rested may illustrate how the promised land, embracing all the regions to the west of the Euphrates, has still a sign to show in its utmost bounds, on the south as well as on the north, what it yet shall be, when desolated wastes shall become like watered gardens.

"The country (on the Lower Euphrates) produces great quantities of barley and wheat, in their wild as well as cultivated state. Onions, spinach, and beans are the usual vegetables, and these are largely cultivated along the sides of the rivers, where, just after the water recedes, the progress of vegetation is surprising. Some idea may be form-

* Irby and Mangles, p. 231.
† Maundrell, p. 8.
‡ Ainsworth's Assyria, p. 96, 98.
§ Mr. Robinson, vol. ii., p. 264.
‖ Irby and Mangles, p. 233.

ed of the productive qualities of the soil, from the fact of eight crops of clover having been cut in the neighbourhood of Basrah during the year."*

The desolation and depopulation of the land, given up, as in a great measure it is, to the beasts of the field and to the fowls of the air, may have multiplied game, while the fish of the rivers, however abundant, suffer little diminution from the hand of man. "Hares, black and stone-coloured partridges, francolins, bramin, and common wild geese, ducks, teal, pelicans, cranes, &c., are abundant. The rivers are full of fish, chiefly barbed, and carp, which latter grows to an enormous size in the Euphrates."† Upper Mesopotamia, like the district south of the Khabur, abounds with the ordinary kinds of grain, and the fruits of a warmer temperature, such as oranges, grapes, and pomegranates (which are particularly fine); walnuts, pistachios, and other products of a colder region, are equally good. Of game, the country about Port William (Ulan Beer) has at one season the aigrette, the parrot, stork, flamingo, bustard, and the *Tardus Seleucus*, which are succeeded by wild geese, ducks, teal, swans, snipes, tern,"‡ &c. The Euphrates turtle (Trionyx Euphratica), as Mr. Ainsworth states, abounds in large muddy pools. The dates of the Lower Euphrates excel those of Tafitah, and are decidedly finer than any produced along the Nile. This region is well adapted for the growth of cotton, sugar, indigo, and many of the fruits of a warm climate. About the Khabur the date-tree (palm) almost ceases to bear; but oranges, grapes, pears, apples, and other fruits and grain, arrive at perfection.§

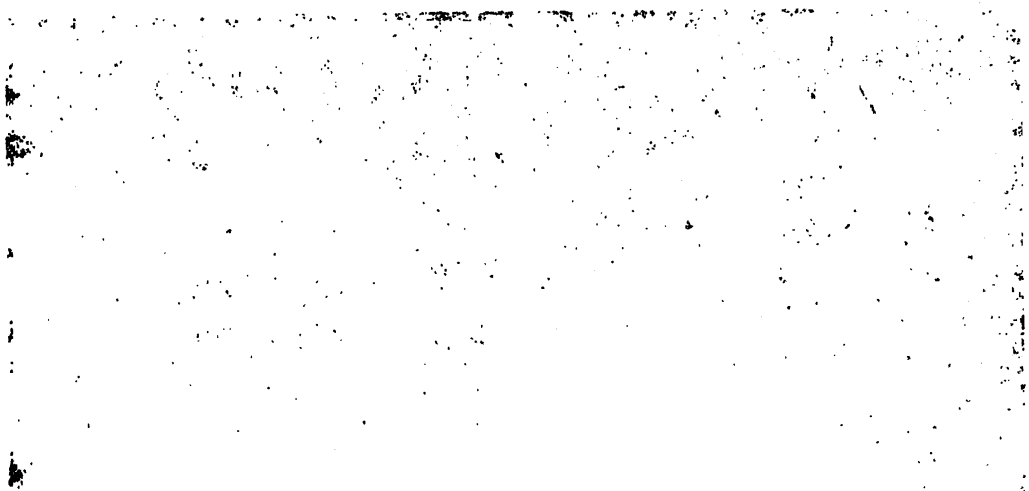
"The soil of Mesopotamia (on the eastern side of the Euphrates) is generally a sandy clay, the surface of which, in the absence of water, is a positive desert; but wherever it is watered by the numerous inlets and irrigating canals branching from the different rivers, it is rich and productive in the extreme." The renewal of irrigation would revive anew both sides of the same river, as it flows through a plain. But though first Israel, and then Judah, were carried captive beyond the river, Mesopotamia itself, extending upward of seven hundred miles in length, and one hundred and seventy miles at its greatest breadth, is but a part of Assyria, all of which must finally own the *sovereignty* of Israel.

* Chap. vi., p. 106. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid., p. 106.

Las Casas

AL. DICK

CEDARS ON LEBANON



CONCLUSION.

From the previous details, a few concluding words may suffice for a succinct delineation of Syria, or the promised land of Israel, which may but be given in the words of Volney. "It was reserved for him," says Malte Brun, one of the first authorities in geography, "to present the world with a complete picture of Syria." So complete was that picture —inferior, in the variety of its discriminating features, to none but that which was drawn by the prophets of old— that, as we have elsewhere shown, he has supplied many most precise and literal illustrations of the prophecies which have gone forth against it. But in his day the land had not fully reached its last prophetic degree of desolation and depopulation. The population, rated by Volney at two millions and a half, is now estimated at half that amount.

The soil in the plain of Syria "is rich and loamy, and indicates the greatest fecundity. In the territory of Aleppo it resembles very fine brick-dust. Almost everywhere else the earth is brown, and as fine as garden mould."*

The difference of latitude between the different extremities of Syria—equal to that from Cornwall to Caithness—gives rise of itself to variety of temperature; but other natural causes far more powerfully tend, even in continuous localities, to diversify the climate in a very remarkable, if not unparalleled degree. The palms in the deep valley of the Jordan flourished in the greatest luxuriance in a tropical climate, while the magnificent cedars of Lebanon show how goodly is the produce of the land in its highest elevations, and in the vicinity of eternal snow.

Along the coast of Syria, and at Tripoli in particular, according to Volney, "the lowest to which the thermometer falls in winter is eight or nine degrees above the freezing point (40° or 41° of Fahrenheit). In winter, therefore, all the chain of mountains is covered with snow, while the lower country is always freed from it, or, at least, it lies a very short time. In the lower plains, the winter is so mild along the seacoast that the orange, palm, banana, and other deli-

* Volney's Travels, chap. xxi., § 6.

cate trees flourish in the open air. In Syria different climates are thus united under the same sky; and in a narrow compass, pleasures and productions, which Nature has elsewhere dispersed at great distances, are collected. With us, for instance, seasons are divided by months, there by hours. If in Saide or Tripoli we feel the heat of summer troublesome, in six hours we are in the neighbouring mountains, in the temperature of March (in France); or, again, if chilled in the frosts of December at Beshirri, a day's journey brings us to the coast, amid the flowers of May. The Arabian poets have therefore said that the Sannim (Lebanon) bears winter on his head, spring upon his shoulders, and autumn in his bosom, while summer lies sleeping at his feet. "I have myself," says Volney, "experienced this figurative observation during the eight months I resided at the monastery of Marhanna, seven leagues from Beyrout. At the end of February, at Tripoli, a variety of vegetables were in perfection, and many flowers in full bloom. The early figs were past at Beyrout when they were first gathered with us."

To this advantage, which perpetuates enjoyments by their succession, Syria adds a second, that of multiplying them by the variety of its productions. Were nature aided by art, those of the most distant countries might be produced within twenty leagues. At present, notwithstanding the barbarism of a government which is inimical to all industry and improvement, we are astonished at the variety. Besides wheat, barley, rye, beans, and the cotton plant, which is (was) everywhere cultivated, we find many useful and agreeable productions, appropriated to different situations. In Palestine sesamum abounds, from which they procure oil, and dourra (a kind of pulse) as good as that of Egypt. Maize thrives in the light soil of Baalbec; and even rice is cultivated with success on the borders of the marshy countries of Havula. They have lately begun to cultivate sugar-canes in the gardens of Saide and of Beyrout, equal to those of the Delta. Indigo grows without cultivation on the banks of the Jordan, in the country of Bisan, and needs but care to improve the quality. Tobacco is now cultivated throughout all the mountains. As for trees, the olive of Provence grows at Antioch, and at Ramlah to the height of the beech. In the white mulberry-tree consists the wealth of the whole country of the Druses, by the beautiful silk which it produces; while the vine, supported by poles, or winding about

the oaks, supplies grapes, which afford red and white wines equal to those of Bourdeaux. The watermelons of Jaffa are preferred before the very fine watermelons of Broulas. Gaza produces dates like Mecca, and pomegranates like Algiers. Tripoli affords oranges like Malta. Beyrout, figs like Marseilles, and bananas like St. Domingo. Aleppo has the (not) exclusive advantage of producing pistachios; and Damascus justly boasts of possessing all the fruits known in the provinces: its stony soil suits equally the apples of Normandy, the plums of Touraine, and the peaches of Paris. Twenty sorts of apricots are enumerated there, the stone of one of which contains a kernel highly valued throughout Turkey. The cochineal plant, which grows on all that coast, contains, perhaps, that precious insect in as high perfection as it is found in Mexico and St. Domingo; and if we consider that the mountains of Yemen, which produce such excellent coffee, are only a continuation of those of Syria, and that their soil and climate are almost the same, we shall be induced to believe that in Judea particularly might be easily cultivated this valuable production of Arabia.

"With these advantages of climate and soil, it is not surprising that Syria should always have been reckoned a most delicious country, and that the Greeks and Romans esteemed it among the most beautiful of their provinces, and equal even to Egypt."*

Such is the description of the climate and soil of Syria by the man who sought to adduce a conclusive proof against revelation from the desolation of the land and the ruins of its cities which prophets had foretold; and such, as an eye-witness, is the refutation which he gives to the *blasphemies* against the land of Israel, uttered by those who in other things were his fellow-scoffers. Elsewhere he writes as if in purpose to prove the inspiration which he denied; and infidel as he was, he here refutes the calumnies of others, as if his design had been to bear testimony to the scriptural record descriptive of the fertility and excellence of the land, were nature again seconded by art, as it was in ancient times. Where is there another country in which such varied excellences are naturally combined, or of which such a description would be a picture, especially even in a land so desolate as Syria was when seen by Volney? And how appositely does his delineation of its capabilities combine

* Volney's Trav., vol. i., p. 316–321, English translation.

with the scriptural narrative of what the promised heritage was when first peopled by those to whom the Lord gave it, and as it shall become when given to them again, not in temporary, but *everlasting possession: a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees, and pomegranates and olives; a land wherein they would eat bread without scarceness, and lack not anything in it; a land of bread and vineyards; a land of olive-oil and of honey; a land which the Lord espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands.** Yet the past is but an earnest of the future. *Behold, the days come that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit thereof. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of the land which I have given them, saith the Lord God.*† *And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop down new wine, the little hills shall flow with milk, and all the rivers of Judah shall flow with waters. And Judah shall dwell forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation. For I will cleanse their blood that I have not cleansed; for the Lord dwelleth in Zion.*‡ The Lord shall comfort Zion: He *will comfort all her waste places, and he will make her wilderness as Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord;* joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.§ Ye shall go forth with joy, and be led forth with peace; *the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.*‖ *The desolate land shall be tilled, whereas it lay desolate in the sight of all that passed by. And they shall say, this land which was desolate is become like the garden of Eden;* and the waste, and desolate, and ruined cities are become fenced and are inhab-

* Deut., viii., 7–9; xi., 11, 12. Ezek., xx., 6.
† Amos, ix., 13–15.
‡ Joel, iii., 18, 20, 21.
§ Isa., ii., 3.
‖ Ibid., lv., 12, 13.

ited. Then the heathen that are round about you shall know that I the Lord build the ruined places, *and plant that that was desolate, &c.** And it shall come to pass in that day, I will hear, saith the Lord, I will hear the heavens, and they shall hear the earth ; and the earth shall hear the corn, and *the wine, and the oil ; and they shall hear Jezreel.*† And when the great day of Jezreel shall be past, *They shall sit every one under his vine and under his fig-tree*, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.‡

The abortive attempt to rebuild Askelon was akin to the attempt to restore or extend the cultivation of that land. In the report of the commercial statistics of Syria by Dr. Bowring, it is stated, that in the preceding year, 1837, "Ibrahim Pasha forced an increased cultivation throughout Syria, and the inhabitants of the different towns were obliged to take upon themselves the agricultural charge of every spot of land susceptible of improvement. He himself set the example, and embarked a large sum in such enterprises. The officers of the army, down to the majors, were forced also to adventure in similar undertakings. The result was, however, extremely unfortunate, from the want of the usual periodical rains, which caused the failing of the crops generally in Syria, and in most cases a total loss of capital ensued. Mr. Wherry says, a considerable extension of the plantation of the mulberry, and olive-tree, and vines took place at Tripoli, Latakia, and to the south,"◊ &c.

As long as the Hebrews are *in the land of their enemies, so long the land lieth desolate. I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass, and your strength shall be spent in vain, and your land shall not yield her increase, &c. They have sown wheat, but shall reap thorns : they have put themselves to pain, but shall not profit ; and they shall be ashamed of your revenues because of the fierce anger of the Lord.*‖

"The agricultural produce of Syria," as the same report bears, "is far less than might be expected from the extensive tracts of fertile lands, and the favourable character of the climate. In the districts where hands are found to cultivate the fields, production is large, and the return for capital is considerable; but the want of population for the purposes of cultivation is most deplorable. *Regions of the high-*

* Ezek., xxxvi., 34. † Hosea, xi., 21, 22. ‡ Micah, iv., 4.
◊ Report on Syria, p. 9, 10. ‖ Lev., xxvi., 19, 20. Jer., xii., 13.

est fertility remain fallow, and the traveller passes over *continuous leagues of the richest soil which is wholly unproductive to man.* Nay, towns surrounded by lands capable of the most successful cultivation are often compelled to import corn for the daily consumption, as is the case at Antioch, in whose immediate neighbourhood the fine lands on the borders of the Orontes might furnish food for hundreds of thousands of inhabitants."* *I will bring your land into desolation; and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths while ye dwelt upon it. The land shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths while she lieth desolate without them.*†

The astonishment is, not that a land now desolate should once have teemed with population and produce, but that, rich as it is, and able as ever to sustain many myriads throughout all its borders, regions of the highest fertility should remain fallow; that continuous leagues of the richest soil should be wholly unproductive to man; that corn should be imported for the *few men* that are *left*, while surrounded by the richest land capable of furnishing food for hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Well may a stranger from a far land, and the enemies that dwell within it, *be astonished at it;* even at the desolation of so fertile a country in so fine a clime. But in vain do they try to redeem it from the curse, or to rebuild the desolate cities, or to renew the face of the land, till the time come when it shall smile again on the return of its children.

For this, the briers, and thorns, and thistles, from which nothing could be carried away, and which, even when burned, yield ashes to fertilize the soil, have come upon the land; for this, the terraces have sustained the soil, and the rains that have fallen from year to year, and that made the thorny plants or wild herbage to shoot forth anew, instead of washing the soil away, were filtered as they passed down the sides of the terraced hills, and every particle of soil retained, that the mountains of Israel might finally shoot forth their branches, and rejoice on every side. For this end the land has enjoyed its sabbaths; not tilled by aliens, as it was

* Report on Syria, p. 9. † Lev., xxvi., 32, 34, 35, 43.

by Israelites of old, but resting still, as if awaiting their return: and though they suffered not the land to keep its sabbaths, nor themselves kept the Sabbath of the Lord, yet has the land enjoyed her sabbaths, or "*remains* fallow" after many generations, that when God shall *make fat* the bones of Jacob, the glory of whose flesh he has made lean, and the land be like a watered garden, the promise shall be fulfilled to a covenant-keeping people, whom the Lord will guide continually: If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the Holy of the Lord honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, *and feed thee with the heritage of Israel thy father;* for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*

For the restoration of Israel other means may be preparing. All eyes of late years have been turned to Syria, and commercial statistics are not unassociated with political speculations. "Since the twenty-five years' war between Britain and France, commerce to these countries has not only assumed a new phase, but has acquired fresh vigour, and the political and commercial relations of these countries seem equally alienated from the sultan's power, government, and authority. New channels, furnishing immense supplies of merchandise, have been opened: Trebizond and Erzeroum supply the southern Persian provinces, and, in part, northern Mesopotamia; the Persian Gulf supplies the southern Persian provinces, and, in part, Babylonia; while Syria, by way of Damascus, supplies Babylonia for the same object, and Aleppo northern Mesopotamia and Babylonia, thereby completing the two former lines. Such are the channels through which British capital flows, diffusing commerce and affluence by the introduction of our manufactures and the extension of trade generally, and for whose promotion, in which the great political magnitude of our East India colonies form so important a connecting link, the sway of great Britain seems called on to maintain the chief direction of the destinies of Eastern politics, to form, it may be hoped, a counterpoise to the gigantic schemes of Russia; but for the furtherance of such great national objects, Syria, both politically and geographically considered, should be made the

* Isaiah, lviii., 11-14.

point d'appui; its geographical position at this end of the Mediterranean, of such easy access from Great Britain, would seem to demand the chief attention of the British cabinet, to blend with its advantageous position every internal facility and communication by which the commerce of Syria can be made to increase, and politically to place it under a good and permanent government."*

Such is the close of a communication imbodying the opinions of "a gentleman long resident in Syria, and intimately acquainted with Oriental politics," which, Dr. Bowring states, are undoubtedly entitled to greater weight than any observations of his own, and he has therefore given them a prominent place in his report.

In it he states that, "notwithstanding all impediments and difficulties, wherever repose and peace have allowed the capabilities of Syria to develop themselves, production and commerce have taken rapid strides. Both for agriculture and manufactures Syria has great capabilities. Were fiscal exactions checked and regulated; could labour pursue its peaceful vocations; were the aptitudes which the country and its inhabitants present for the development of industry called into play, the whole face of the land would soon be changed. The presence and influence of European, and especially of British merchants, cannot but produce habits of greater punctuality and probity. They will also call forth the undeveloped and productive energies of the country, whenever peace and security shall succeed to frequent wars and long-during armed truces, which have brought with them perpetual disquiet and uncertainty, the frequent interruptions of trade and communication, of manufacturing and agricultural industry, the consequence of the constant drainings of the people, and the exhaustion of the wealth of the land. The conquests of Ibrahim promised tranquillity and improvement, but the insurrections and disturbances of the last two years have again checked the progress of prosperity."

Since that time Syria has again changed its master. But a few years ago Ibrahim was looked on as a deliverer: but he ruled Syria with an iron rod, and carried on an exterminating war in the Haouran. Revolt followed on revolt, till the oppressed and miserable inhabitants were disarmed; when, by European interference, they were armed anew, and from the banks of the Euphrates to the borders of

* Report on Syria, p. 49.

Egypt the Egyptian army was removed far away, Syria was delivered over to the Turks, who were before unable to retain it, anarchy worse than despotism ensued, and not less, but rather more than ever, a land which has found *no rest* for ages, cries out, in all but utter hopelessness at last, for a good and permanent government, under which, on political and commercial views, and in the progress of events, now of an unprecedented nature, it is said to be the duty and the wisdom of the British cabinet to place it.

Worldly politicians feel the necessity of an altered course of things in Syria; and *four great powers of Europe*, after France had broken off from the alliance, took in hand the settlement of its affairs, and transferred it from the firm hands of the Pasha of Egypt to the feeble hands of the sultan. Other powers than Britain are now concerned in the settlement of Syria, indispensable, as it now seems, to the peace of the world. A country which for previous centuries *no man inquired after*, excites anew the liveliest interest among the greatest of earthly potentates. After a twenty-five years' war between England and France, the sovereigns of both these kingdoms, when sixteen more had elapsed, simultaneously congratulated the Parliament of the one and the Chambers of the other, in similar terms, on the prospect of continued peace, because, as they imagined, the Eastern question had been settled. On the 27th December, 1841, the speech of the King of France thus began: "Since the close of your last session, the questions which excited in the East our just solicitude, have reached their term. I have concluded with the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the sultan, a connexion which consecrates the common intention of the powers to maintain the peace of Europe, and consolidate the repose of the Ottoman Empire."

But the question of the settlement, or appropriation of Syria, has not reached its term, and the repose of the Ottoman Empire, then essentially associated with the peace of Europe, is not yet consolidated. The breaking up of that empire is the scriptural prognostic of another confederacy and of a universal war, and hence the peace of Europe or of the world seems dependant on its repose. Its fall—or the *drying up of the Euphrates*, not unequivocally illustrated by "the constant drainings of the people"—prepares the way of *the kings of the East*. The great powers, ruled and

controlled by a power greater than they, and higher than the highest, may, when the counsels of the Eternal shall be evolved by their acts, in accordance with his Word, have another work to do than that of either keeping Mohammed Ali in his place, or the sultan on his throne. And as other things seem ready for the *national* restoration of the Jews, who can say that history may not in a little time, in the discharge of the task assigned it, supply an illustration of the Word of the Lord, and show how a *nation*, when brought to the birth, *may be born in a day*. Greece was given to the Greeks; and in seeking any government for Syria, may not a confederacy of kings, for the sake of the peace of the world, be shut up to the course of giving—if they think it theirs to give—Judea to the Jews? Connexions may be concluded between earthly sovereigns, and the end may be, as it has often been, to show that they are but of little worth. And resolve the question as for the time they may, yet, so soon as the Ruler of the nations suffers or sets them to intermeddle with the Syrian question, *that* shall not *reach its term*, or the issue assigned it from the beginning by the Lord, till a covenant different from all earthly connexions, even that which the Lord made with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, to give that land to their seed for an everlasting possession, shall be realized. After the desolating quiescence of ages, revolution has succeeded to revolution in the land, still ripening for more, as if its present history were read in the words of the prophet, applicable to the last days of its trouble, before the time of its peace, *Overturn, overturn, overturn, till He come whose it is, and I will give it him.* While the sovereigns of this world speak of connexions concluded and peace consolidated, the councils of the Eternal interpose, and the King of Kings says, Overturn, overturn. When the question shall reach its final term, whenever that shall be, the land, in blessedness and peace, shall be the people's to whom the Lord hath given it; and all kings on earth shall see the glory of the Lord.

The result of the designs and doings of earthly governments is not unfrequently the reverse of what they devise. The Lord, to whom power belongs, and with whom wisdom dwells, *turns wise men backward*. Shortsighted is the wisdom that knows not what a day may bring forth, and weak the power that cannot prepare for it. Kings, in other matters, are accomplishing now what the Lord may use as

means for the subversion of their kingdoms, as of this world they yet are, and turn into instruments for the completion of his promises to Israel, and for the better government of all the nations of the earth, when *the law shall go forth* to them *all out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.** Great kings of old were hewers of stone for cities of Israel yet to be rebuilt. And at last *the highways* have to be cast up, that *the way of the Lord's people may be prepared.* After the kingdoms that were to arise on the earth had been symbolized, in other visions, before the eyes of Daniel, even as they have actually passed in history before our own, *the things noted in the Scripture of Truth* were finally revealed, as rendered in the prophecy which concludes his book; and on declaring them, the angel said, *I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.*† And after the things were written, Daniel was commanded to "*shut up and seal the book, even to the time of the end.* And the sign of that time was given, *many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.*" In all past ages, men would have looked in vain for any such sign *of the time of the end*‡ as that which now, vividly, day by day, brightens more and more in the sight of the existing generation. And the time, if not come, may, as thus assigned, be at hand, in which the Scripture of Truth, revealing *the things that should befall the Jews in the latter days*, may at last be an *open book*, when there is this warrant from the Lord for breaking the seal.

But if such a time be come, the kings or governments of the earth, while entering into conventions for maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—against which the word of the Lord has gone forth, and on which that word must fall whenever his work with it is done—may not be idle in casting up the highway, *and preparing the way* for the return of the Jews§ in the predicted manner: *they shall come with speed swiftly*, and *fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows*;‖ and also for the better things that shall follow, when that empire shall be overthrown, and the last of battles shall have been fought, and men shall go up *from year to year out of all the nations of the earth to Jerusalem to worship before the Lord, the Lord of Hosts,*¶ and war shall cease forever throughout all the ends of the earth. Much,

* Isaiah, xi., 3. † Dan., x., 14, ‡ Ibid., xii., 4.
§ Isa., xii., 10, ‖ Ibid., lx., 8, ¶ Zech., xiv., 16, 17.

far more than ever, as *men* already *run to and fro*, yet new facilities are opening up, so that in the course of a very few years Europe may be passed through, from Hamburgh to Trieste, in two days, or the North Sea be linked by a railway to the Adriatic, and France may be traversed in a day from the British Channel to the Mediterranean.

A sudden change of the atmosphere causes the doves, spread far and wide all around, prompted by instinct, to fly to their windows. With equal ease, and even so by a change in the spirit of the times, can the Lord Almighty, who has given that instinct to these, bring back the children of Israel—*the tribe of Judah first*—from every country under heaven, and cause them to come *with speed swiftly* (or very swiftly), in a manner they never could have done till now, to the land which He promised to their father, and to their seed forever.

But around the land itself, as within its borders, there are other indications that the time draweth nigh, of a different character, though not less defined.

The land is in a great measure naked of inhabitants, and there are *few men left*, and those few have but a slight hold on the land that is not theirs. The inhabitants, instead of being, like the peasants anciently in many, and still in some, countries of Europe, *adstricti glebæ*, or bound to the soil, are wanderers without settled habitation; and instead of abiding in houses, as is general throughout all cultivable regions of the world, with comparatively few exceptions, they dwell in tents, which are removed from place to place, as their destined work of treading down the land, and fertilizing the soil by pasturing it, is fulfilled. Their tents are struck whenever the green pasture is eaten up by their flocks, and are only temporarily set up again, to be removed anew in their ceaseless wanderings. Few of the Bedouin or wandering Arabs, as Burckhardt has remarked, die in the place in which they were born. They still wander in the wilderness, till the period arrive when they shall "dwell in the presence of their brethren." The traveller occasionally witnesses the breaking up of an Arab camp, when hundreds, and sometimes thousands, remove from one locality to another, with all their flocks, in order to consume successively the herbage in the place where it grows, like flocks of sheep penned successively, for enriching the soil, in all the different portions of a field. But *as the rams of Nebaioth and the flocks of Kedar*

shall yet *minister to Israel*, so the *multitude of camels shall cover* the land, *the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah*,* when the people shall flow together, and fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows.

The chief beasts of burden throughout the land are camels or dromedaries, which, in many places, from one extremity of it to the other, are very numerous. So soon as Palestine is entered on the south, they are sometimes seen in large numbers, spread over the plains; and as the sun declines, they are gathered, together with the cattle, around the tents of the Arabs, or *the cottages for shepherds* in the land of Philistia,† so that in a wide-extended view, the face of the country is simultaneously lighted up with fires on every side, to protect them from the wild beasts, to which, rather than unto men, the land is now given. On the north of Syria Arabs now wander with their camels and flocks, where a successor of Alexander the Great fed, in a single narrow region, thousands of elephants. Of such facts the writer had noted several illustrations; but the most recent is the most striking, communicated to him in a letter from his esteemed friend, Dr. Wilson, of Bombay. "On approaching Damascus from the Jizr Banat Jacub (Jacob's Bridge), we passed uninjured, though not without some apprehension, through the camp of the Anazi of the great Bariah, extending for twenty miles, and containing, according to the smallest computation, no fewer than 35,000 camels. At Damascus we witnessed the arrival of the Bagdad caravan of 4000 camels, loaded with spices and precious wares. Both circumstances brought vividly to our remembrance the promise: 'The multitude of camels shall cover thee; the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah: all they from Shebah shall come; they shall bring gold and incense; and they

* A singular fact in natural history, not unconnected with the fertility of the land, is worthy of notice. In passing through the desert from Egypt, the author was surprised to see the green verdure, in many instances, of tall grassy bushes, to which the bending of the camel's head not unfrequently directed his attention; and where no water is near, he for some time tried in vain to satisfy himself as to the cause of the verdure. Little holes were seen around the bushes, but their cause or purpose was alike unknown. At Kan Younes the seeming mystery was solved. Multitudes of beetles (the scarabeus of the Egyptians) were seen rolling the round pieces of camel's dung, and other deposites, speedily formed by them into a similar shape and size, to suitable spots where the soil was bare, or around the roots of bushes; there they formed their holes, with the mathematical accuracy of instinct, into which the balls, by a slight motion, were rolled down—these forming beds of incubation for the "sharn-bred beetle." These little animals, which abound in myriads, at once preserve the pureness of the air, and, increasing the fertility of the soil, are often the only, but busy, cultivators where man is idle: and the wonder is diminished that the scarabeus was in ancient times worshipped by the Egyptians. † Isa., lx., 6.

shall show forth the praise of the Lord.'" Such facts may be numbered among the tokens that the time approaches. And when it shall be come, nothing shall be wanting for the completion of the promises: but the *ships of Tarshish first*, shall be as ready as the camels of the desert.

The God of Israel is the Lord of Hosts. He ruleth ever by his power; his eyes behold the nations. Nebuchadnezzar, who said in the pride of his heart, while the Jews were captives in Babylon, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" was constrained to take up another language, and to "bless the Most High, and to praise and honour him that liveth forever and ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom from generation to generation."* The kings of the earth are but the executioners of his purposes, the instruments of his power. He is head of them, and of all their hosts, though they know it not. And the result of all they do, though their own design be frustrated, is inevitably that which the Lord has determined. According to His word, the land of Israel has bereaved the nations of men; the worst of the heathen have possessed it; and it has been devoured by strangers, till the work assigned them has been completed; and, it may be, other work has now to be done by other hands. For promoting or securing the peace of Europe, according to their design, the sovereigns of Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered into a convention for expelling the Pasha of Egypt from Syria; and who can say that this *new* interference with its destinies *may* not be the beginning of a greater work, in which kings shall be the carpenters for the reconstruction of the Jewish state. The world has seen what the Lord has done to the city called by his name, and to the people whom He did choose out of all the nations of the earth; and the world has yet to see what the Lord will do for Israel. Future history may be read in the Scriptures, like the past which was future when they were written. "Cry yet, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, My cities through prosperity shall yet be spread abroad, and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem. Then lifted I up mine eyes, and saw, and behold four horns. And I said unto the angel that talked with me, What be these? And he answered me, These

* Dan., iv., 34.

are the horns which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem. And the Lord showed me four carpenters. Then said I, What came these to do? And He spake, saying, These are the horns which have scattered Judah, so that no man could lift up his head; but these are come to fray them, to cast out the horns of the Gentiles, which lifted up their horn over the land of Judah to scatter it."*

The *time* has been *long* during which *no man* of Judah *could lift up his head;* but, now that the period is come when the cities are desolate without inhabitant, and the land reduced to a tenth, so there are men of Judah who do lift up their heads, and rank among the chief men of the earth from among whom the Lord will take his people. It would thus seem as if the time of the horns that scattered and oppressed them were passing away, and that of the carpenters, to whom the work of re-erection is assigned, were at hand.

In answer to the question, *Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, the morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye: return, come.* Repeated inquiry, here permitted, may be needed; but it will not always be in vain.

Of the order of unfulfilled predictions, as marked in Scripture, the author has already ventured to write; and it was his design to have here entered on the inquiry concerning the time of Israel's restoration, and on other kindred themes, touching the completion of the covenant with Abraham concerning the land, and the covenant with David concerning his throne, and the glorious things that are written and ought to be believed concerning Jerusalem. These, however, would require another volume, for which, if the Lord will, they are reserved. In the preceding pages he has, perhaps not untimely, touched upon a subject that is but the introduction to other themes, to which speedily, it is his firm belief, the attention of the world will not need to be directed, but be necessarily drawn, consequent as they are, in their scriptural connexion and order, on facts already abundantly adduced,† and coeval as they shall be with Israel's restoration. As the blindness of Israel as a people was to continue *until* the cities should be desolate without inhabitant and the houses without man, &c., so the same Lord, who announced the fact when He appeared to Isaiah in his glory, while he was manifest in the flesh, wept over Jerusalem and foretold its

* Zech., i., 17–21. † Signs of the Times, last chapter.

destruction, gave another measure of the time during which it should be trodden of the Gentiles, even *until* the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled, and judgments come without exception on all the nations of the earth. The fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles, of which the prophets of old had not kept silence, affects all nations, and is thus clearly synchronical with the time when Jerusalem and the land of Israel shall cease to be trodden down by them.

Hitherto, during many ages, the nations of the earth, save those on whom by name judgments have fallen, have been, as it were, spectators of what the Lord has done to Israel and to the land; and they have been willing and active agents, too, in the execution of the punishments that have come upon the Jews, and in the spoliation and desolation to which the land has been subjected. But they shall not always be spectators merely of what the Lord hath determined to do. Jeremiah, to whom it was given to speak so clearly of the new and everlasting covenant of the Lord with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah, was commissioned and commanded to take the winecup of the fury of the Lord, first given to Jerusalem, and cause all the nations to drink it unto whom the Lord had sent it. Nor was it given so that they should certainly be caused to drink of it, as certainly they have, only to the nations enumerated one by one in the same judgment-roll, but also finally to all the kingdoms of the world that are upon the face of the earth. "Therefore shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Drink ye, and be drunken, and spew, and fall and rise no more, because of the sword which I will send among you. And it shall be, if they refuse to take the cup at thine hand to drink, then shalt thou say unto them, thus saith the Lord, Ye shall certainly drink; for, lo, *I begin to bring evil upon the city, which is called by my name, and should ye be utterly unpunished?* Ye shall not be unpunished; for I will call for a sword *upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith the Lord of Hosts.* A noise shall come even to *the ends of the earth;* for the Lord hath a *controversy with the nations; He will plead with all flesh;* He will give them that are wicked to the sword, saith the Lord,"* &c.

We have seen somewhat of the curses of a legal covenant, which are set forth practically in the sight of all think-

* Jer., xxv., 27–31.

ing as well as all believing men; we have seen somewhat of the judgments which the Lord has brought on his own chosen people, and on the city called by his name, and on the people of old denominated his own; and the question put by the Lord to the people of all other cities and countries may be heard by *all the nations and all the kingdoms of the world*, as addressed individually to each, Art thou he that shall escape? The vision seen by Daniel, in which the sanctuary was trodden down, was for many days.* And when the angel revealed to him what should befall his people in the latter days, *the time appointed was long*.† But the long time has to be succeeded by a *short work*. Esaias crieth concerning Israel, saith the apostle, "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved: for He will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness, for a *short work will the Lord make upon the earth*.‡ The Lord, saith the prophet, shall go forth as a mighty man; He shall stir up jealousy like a man of war; He shall cry, yea, roar; He shall prevail against his enemies. I have *long* holden my peace; I have been still, and refrained myself: now will I cry like a travailing woman; I will destroy and devour *at once*, &c. And I will bring the blind by a way that they know not; I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them, and not forsake them."§

It is for the glory of the Lord that, during many ages while Israel has been in blindness, the Gospel has been preached unto the Gentiles, that a people might be taken from among them to the Lord. But when the question shall be raised, as we think it has already begun to be, between the Church and the world, whether spiritual independence can be maintained within the Church in connexion with any kingdom on earth—whether Christ be, *in fact*, the Head of his church and the King of nations—it is not, without irreverence we may say, it is not for the glory of the Redeemer's crown that such a question, when fairly raised, should for a *long time* be held practically in doubtful disputation. *If the time be come* that judgment must begin at the house of God, what shall the end be of those that obey not the Gospel? If the Lord's fan be taken into his hand, He will not lay it down till he thoroughly purge his floor, and separate the wheat from the chaff, the one for the kingdom that shall endure for-

* Dan., viii., 26. † Ibid, x., 1. ‡ Rom., ix., 28. § Isa., xlii., 15, 16.

ever, the other for the fire that never shall be quenched. Persecuting powers, imperial and papal, were successively to arise against the Church, and power was given to the beast for a time, and time and a half. But these times have an end; and the judgment of the mighty city, which destroyed Jerusalem and has persecuted the saints, shall come *in one hour*. And when the Lord's controversy with the nations because of his people Israel shall begin, it too shall be quickly finished. The *dénouement* of the history of the world includes, and shall resolve, every controversy with *the nations* of the earth concerning the seed of Abraham, whether by the flesh or in the faith. All things shall be shaken, that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. The counsel and covenant of the Lord, which cannot be shaken, shall remain. The kingdoms of this world shall become as the chaff of the summer thrashing-floor, even as the chaff before the wind, and the thistle-down before the whirlwind, but the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, and with Isaac, and with Jacob shall be established forever; and all the families of the earth, blessed in their seed, shall see, in open vision at last, how the covenant of the Lord with David concerning his throne harmonizes at once with the Abrahamic of old, and with the new and everlasting covenant of mercy and of peace which, after all the days of dispersion and desolation are past, the Lord will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah. "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious. And the Lord shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." "And in that day shalt thou say, O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me. Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. And in that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people, make mention that his name is exalted. Sing unto the Lord, for he hath done excellent things; this is known in all the earth. Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee."*

* Isa., xi., 10, 12, &c. Isa., xii.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—Page 82.

INSTEAD of keeping up to one uniform translation of *Nah al Mitzraim*, the LXX. sometimes render it Φάραγξ Αἰγύπτου, the *Gulf of Egypt:* Josh., xv., 4. Sometimes Ποταμος Αἰγύπτου, the *River of Egypt:* 1 Kings, viii., 65; Gen., xv., 18. Sometimes Χειμαρρος Αἰγύπτου, the *Torrent of Egypt:* 2 Chron., vii., 8; 2 Kings, xxiv., 7; Numb., xxxiv., 5; Josh., xv., 47; and, in the text before us, Ρινοκορουρος; hereby perplexing the very nature and quality, as well as the geographical circumstances of this river, by attributing to it four different appellations. The like disagreement we may observe in their translation of שחור, שחור or ש׳חור, *Sihor* or *Shihor*, another name, as it will appear to be, of *the River of Egypt.* For 1 Chron., xiii., 5, where the original has it, *from Sihor of Egypt*, the LXX. render it ἀπὸ ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου, from *the Borders of Egypt.* In Jer., ii., 18, for *the waters of Sihor*, they have *the waters of* Γηὼν, *a river which encompassed the whole land of Chus*, a province of *Arabia*, Gen., ii., 13. In Josh., xiii., 3, instead of *Sihor, which is before Egypt*, they have ἀπὸ τῆς ἀοικήτου γῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον Αἰγύπτου, *from the uninhabited land that lies before Egypt.* And in Isa., xxiii., 3, for *the seed of Sihor*, they have σπέρμα με ταβόλων, the *seed of the merchants;* mistaking a ס, Samech, for a ש, Shin, or כחר for שחר. In geographical criticism, therefore, little stress can be laid upon the authority of the LXX. version, where the phrase so frequently varies from the original, and where so many different interpretations are put upon one and the same thing.—*Shaw's Travels*, p. 24.

No. II.—Page 155, 156.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS.

Ab Antiochia usque ad Pelusium.

Platanos	25
Cathela	24
Laodiceam	16
Gabalam	18
Balanea	27
Antaradon	24
Arcas	32
Tripolim	18
Byblon	36
Beryhim	34
Sidonem	30
Tyrum	24
Ptolemaiada	32
Sycaminon	24
Cæsaream	20
Betaron	18
Diospolim	22
Lammiam	12
Ascalonem	20
Gazam	16
Raphiam	22
Rhinocorura	22
Ostracenam	26
Cassium	26
Pentas-chœnin	20
Pelusium	20

Iter a Pelusio Memphim, 122 miles.

Daphnem	16
Jacasarat	18
Thou	24
Scenas Veteranorum	26
Helin	14
Memphim	24

Item ab Antiochia Emesam, 133 miles.

Niaccaba	25
Caperturi	24
Apameam	20
Larissam	16
Epiphaniam	16
Arethusam	16
Emesam	16

Item a Carris Hierapolim, 83 miles.

Bathas	30
Thilaticomum	22
Hierapolim	31

Item a Cyrrho Emesam, 151 miles.

Minnizam 20
Beroam 22
Chalcida 18
Arram 20
Cappareas 23
Epiphaniam . . . 16
Arethusam . . . 16
Emesam 16

Item a Doliche Serianem Anmea, 127 miles.

Cyrrhon 24
Minnozam . . . 24
Beroam 20
Chalcida 15
Andronam 26
Serianem 18

Item a Callecome Larissam, 79 miles.

Chalcida 18
Temmelison . . . 20
Apamea 25
Larissam 16

Item a Bemmari Neapolim, 237 miles.

Geroda 40
Thelseas 16
Damascum . . . 24
Aere 32
Neve 30
Capitoliada . . . 36
Gadaram 16
Scythopolim . . . 16
In Medio 10
Neapolim 7

Item a Seriane Scythopolim, 318 miles.

Salaminiada . . . 32
Emesam 18
Laodiciam 18
Lybon 32
Heliopolim . . . 32
Abilam 38
Damascum . . . 18
Aere 32
Neve 30
Capitoliada . . . 36
Gadara 16
Scythopolim . . . 16

Item a Cæsarea Eleutheropolim, 77 miles.

Betaron 31
Diospolim 28
Eleutheropolim . . 18

Item a Damasco Emesam, 142 miles.

Abilam 38
Heliopolim . . . 22
Conna 32
Laodicia 32
Emesam 18

Item a Neapoli Ascalonem, 74 miles.

Æliam 31
Eleutheropolim . . 20
Ascalonem . . . 24

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